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ABSTRACT

The four conceptual/academic themes for the Second Annual University of Kentucky Conference on Appalachia were: School-Community Relationships; Economic Development through Education; Politics of Democratic Empowerment; and Politics of Literacy. Other session topics included: Successful Dropout Programs in Appalachia; Innovative Programs and Culturally-Based Learning; Enhancing Professional Training Programs; Role of Regional Colleges and Universities; Politics of School Reform; and Competing Notions of Literacy for the 21st Century. The 30 presentations covered in this proceedings include essays, transcripts of speeches, or revisions of papers delivered at the conference. Fourteen presentations are not represented in the proceedings because of deadlines or format problems. The presentations included in this document, however, cover a range of topics of potential interest to both school practitioners and university researchers. The collection suggests that the important educational issues and problems of Appalachia are complex and call for more thorough analysis than they usually receive. (TES)

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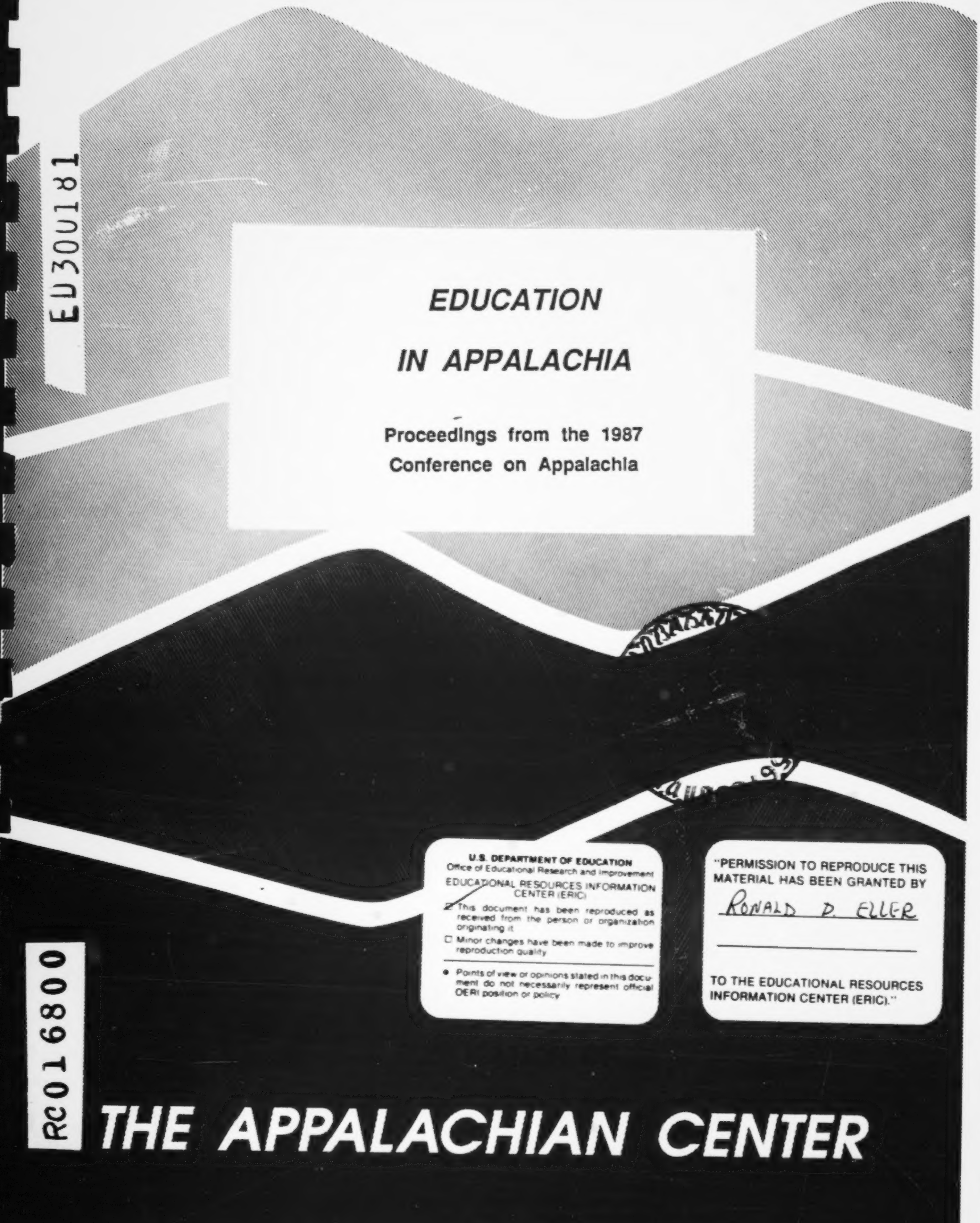

EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA

Proceedings from the 1987
Conference on Appalachia

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THE APPALACHIAN CENTER

EDUCATION
IN APPALACHIA

Proceedings from the 1987
Conference on Appalachia

October 23-24, 1987

University of Kentucky

Sponsored by the Appalachian Center
641 S. Limestone
Lexington, KY 40506-0333

Ronald D Eller, Director

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INTRODUCTION:
CONTEXTS AND ISSUES IN APPALACHIAN SCHOOL REFORM

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The status of education and possibilities for reforming and enhancing school outcomes have become a central theme around the country during the past decade, as it has been in Appalachia. Nationally, concern over the direction of public instruction grew increasingly during the 1970s and 1980s, as measured in a variety of Gallup polls and as reflected in the relatively poor performance of Americans on a variety of cross-national comparisons of student achievement.

Literally hundreds of reports and studies outlining and championing reform agendas for American public education have been issued since 1983 by a variety of civic, business and educational organizations. While most of the school reform proposals generated during the past five years have been targeted at schools nationally, political leaders and civic organizations in rural America and in Appalachia have focused additional attention upon perceived weaknesses of public education in the south and in the mountains.

The Second Annual University of Kentucky Conference on Appalachia was convened on October 23 and 24, 1987, to provide a forum for discussion of educational issues, problems, possibilities, and innovative strategies as they relate to current school reform efforts in Appalachia. Conference planners issued a call for papers in the spring of 1987, hoping to attract a variety of proposals. Specific themes suggested for the conference included four controversial areas: school/community relationships; issues in education for economic development; the politics of school reform; and competing notions of literacy for the 21st century.

Simply put, conference organizers were impressed both with proposals addressing these typically more academic issues, as well as with a variety of practitioner-oriented submissions by teachers, administrators, and educational resource specialists. We were also greatly pleased that the four nationally prominent speakers we sought to lead discussion and debate on each of the more abstract topics agreed to participate. And we were grateful to obtain partial funding for the conference from both the Appalachia Educational Laboratory of Charleston West Virginia and the Appalachian Regional Commission. On the days of October 23 and 24, ten concurrent sessions took place, featuring the work of 44 Appalachian scholars and teachers. Including presenters, over 200 people from eight Appalachian states were in attendance.

In the following pages, most of what was heard and seen at the Second Annual Conference on Appalachia is reproduced in written format. Some of the essays that follow are more extensive treatments of papers presented, while several are verbatim transcriptions of presentations made. Unfortunately, there were several presentations on the program which due either to proceedings deadlines have not been included, or are missing because their formats were not reducible to the printed word. For the most part however, the following pages capture much of the controversy, excitement, and/or down to earth proposals for educational improvement heard at the conference.

The Rural Context of Appalachian School Reform

Contrary to what many national civic, professional, and educational groups might argue, the historical and social context in which schooling occurs has important implications for the quality and purpose of classroom, school, and community life. That is, discussions and proposals dealing with rural school reform ought to be guided by systematic analysis of past educational issues, conditions, and policies. Evidence suggests, however, that most previous American school reform movements paid little attention to the needs of rural schools around the nation, and particularly in Appalachia. Unfortunately, much of the currently available rhetoric on why and how to reform education in Appalachia shares the same dubious honor.

For example, there appears to be overwhelming consensus among educational historians that the school reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century, which gave rise to current schooling models in America, were brought about by the related factors of the industrial revolution, urbanization, and immigration. The common school was argued by its proponents to be a place where children lost in the welter of industrial explosion and its attendant social change could both find refuge and develop the personal skills necessary to compete in the new social order. By the turn of the twentieth century, a second wave of school reform was targeted at enhancing further the job skills deemed necessary for occupational specialization in a world increasingly dominated by big business.[1]

In attempting to develop educational models and institutions relevant to the urban social and economic problems perceived as universal ones, prominent school reformers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century devoted much of their efforts to pedagogical and institutional models which rarely considered the particular needs or concerns of rural communities in the U.S. A guiding assumption of many educational leaders until at least World War II was that rural life in America was in a period of gradual decay and that public schools in the countryside ought primarily to provide the training rural youth would need to escape rural life and find employment in the city.[2] Such an assumption obviously implied that rural residents had neither the foresight nor the scientifically based training to make good decisions about the educational programs and policies that are necessary for their children.

Since World War II, the drift among many of America's political as well as educational leaders has continued toward viewing the public school as the site for developing the country's human resources, rather than those of any particular region. In the fifties, reforming secondary schools by concentrating on academic excellence in the physical sciences was a primary theme. Such reforms were instigated in hopes that more Americans would go on to college, leave their communities, and become career scientists working in defense and space related industries. Providing upward (individual) social mobility also lay behind most of the equality of educational opportunity programs of the sixties and seventies in the U.S. Targeting first minorities in central cities, and subsequently the rural poor in Appalachia, a variety of programs designed to help individuals escape from such depressed areas and move on to productive lives in metropolitan America were implemented. As one West Virginia educator joked with me recently, the guiding philosophy of education he received in the sixties was the Appalachian version of the 3Rs: "Readin', Ritin' and the Road to Akron." Here again in the 1980s, we are witness to a host of new school reform efforts designed to make America's schools more academically "excellent," only now the comparisons are to schools of other countries. And the learning outcomes ostensibly to be achieved within Appalachian schools are argued necessary for our children to become good workers in "post-industrial" America.

Highlighting the Educational Issues in Appalachia

As this brief educational history suggests, rural schools and Appalachian schools have always, not just recently, been the target of those who would improve our schools by making them look like those in other places. While it probably cannot be said that education is "just fine" here in the mountains, criticizing teachers in east Tennessee or in eastern Kentucky for declining national SAT scores, falling factory productivity in Massachusetts, and/or the lack of employment opportunities in Appalachia seems just a bit too simplistic.

For example, it may seem puzzling and perturbing to many professionals in metropolitan America that school board politics play such an important role in school and community life in Appalachia. Perhaps this is because the notion of community has all but disappeared in America's cities. However, the sense of community in many rural areas is still strong. And in those rural communities experiencing economic decline, employment in the schools frequently provides the only steady source of income available, as well as a focal point for community identification.[3] Such facts should not suggest approval for political abuse in school hiring and curricular policies, for which rural schools have become famous. But they certainly should suggest that understanding and improving rural education demands more than just the introduction of new textbooks, better academic training for teachers, or developing new student achievement tests.

There are other stereotypes about Appalachian children and Appalachian schools that need correcting amidst the current clamor for school reform. While the stereotype still exists that mountain communities have poor schools and Appalachian children are illiterate, such problems never kept labor hungry factories in the North and the Midwest from using and abusing Appalachian migrants when there were entry level manufacturing jobs to fill. Neither did they sway Army and Navy recruiters from enlisting thousands and thousands of mountain young people for the armed services. Those frequently eager to demean the personal qualities of Appalachian youth rarely seem to recall that it has been primarily the rural and inner city poor who have borne the brunt of our country's national defense throughout this century. Rarely in the derogatory depictions of Appalachian communities or Appalachian schools are we reminded of the fact, for example, that West Virginia youth have the highest per capita casualty rates of soldiers from any state in all of America's armed conflicts since the turn of the century.

Four Major Conference Themes

As the preceding observations were meant to suggest, the complex social, political, and economic characteristics of Appalachia make suspect sweeping indictments about what is wrong (or right) with its schools. Recognizing this fact, the Second Annual Conference on Appalachia focused upon the four general themes previously mentioned as they relate to the rhetoric of school reform typically heard here.

The importance of understanding **School and Community Relationships** was one such theme. Eliot Wigginton, whose name has become virtually synonymous with this topic, was the lead speaker for this session. He, along with his student, Dale Trusty, gave an eloquent overview of the pedagogical possibilities for community research and reporting.

Following "Wig," some of the more problematic aspects of community change in Appalachia were suggested by Gregory Reck, Susan Clement-Brutto, and Tom Boyd. Focusing upon the concept of ethnicity, Reck's paper discussed the local impact of affluent in-migrants taking up residence in a previously isolated North Carolina community. Clement-Brutto's focus was upon the tension between schooling and one central Kentucky community over local development strategies. And Tom Boyd's focus was more on the ideology and rhetoric historically used in one eastern Kentucky community as calls to modernize there were heard throughout the twentieth century.

A second theme dealt with **Education and Economic Development**. Underlying almost all current reform strategies in the United States and in Appalachia are pronouncements that our children are human resources who must be better trained and equipped for the rigors of economic development. The conventional wisdom in the region and in the nation would have it that educational underperformance is and has been responsible for economic decline. On the other hand, the notion that regional poverty in Appalachia is the result of educational inferiority is certainly debatable. And it was debated in a session on this theme, featuring the presentation of Jonathan Sher. One presenter, Dan Lacy provided Ashland Oil's rationale for improving the quality of Appalachia's labor force by urging teenagers to finish high school. Sher's position, to the contrary, was that local economic development through education would much more logically utilize all local schooling resources to stimulate local entrepreunership. And a third paper, authored by Eldon Smith and Kurt Anschel, argued that better research into the actual contribution of schooling to communities where economic situations have improved ought to precede policy discussions rather than follow them.

Given that calls for school reform typically call for political action and understanding, a third session lead by Linda Martin focused upon the topic of the **Politics of Democratic Empowerment**. Martin's presentation detailed the difficulties, successes, and defeats a citizen action group she led during the early eighties faced in helping to overturn the way schools were operated in West Virginia.

In the three other papers presented on this theme, Sandra Oldendorf discussed the concept and application of democratic empowerment in the South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools; the Lower Price Hill Street Academy in Cincinnati was profiled by Phillip Obermiller and his colleagues; and Flo Estes and Harvey Neufeldt discussed the politics of adult literacy campaigns in the eastern Kentucky mountains during the early twentieth century.

The **Politics of Literacy** was the focus of a fourth conference theme introduced by Dixie Goswami. Professor Goswami developed the empowerment theme in her discussion of enabling and encouraging students to become co-workers, co-researchers, and co-authors as a vital part of the educational process.[4] In the following session, Kathleen Holland described the utility of the Reading Recovery Program for diminishing literacy boundaries between the home and the school; Rebecca Eller discussed her work on the differences between Appalachian and non-Appalachian linguistic and discourse styles; and Roberta Herrin talked about the universal yet frequently unappreciated value of regional literature for Appalachian students of several different achievement levels.

Conference Sessions More Specifically for Practitioners

In addition to the four conceptual/academic themes of the Second Annual Conference on Appalachia just reviewed, a number of excellent practitioner-oriented sessions were put together for our program, and most of the presentations from those sessions are also reproduced in this volume. For example, an intriguing "how-to" session for implementing Foxfire related activities was presented by the members of the Eastern Kentucky Teachers Network. This energetic and committed group of teachers detailed many of their techniques, joys, and frustrations for conference participants in what many attenders commented was their most stimulating conference session.

A number of other sessions also dealt with novel and/or pilot educational innovation projects in Appalachia. Some of these sessions dealt with alternative dropout prevention and intervention strategies. Several sessions addressed the special and important needs of adult learners in the region. Enhancing professional training programs for health practitioners and social workers was the focus of several papers during the conference. Kim Townley and her colleagues discussed the PACE program for economically disadvantaged mothers and their young children. And the use of Appalachian literature and films as instructional aids was highlighted in several sessions.

The possible contribution of state universities, teacher training institutions and regional educational laboratories generated much attention at the conference. For example, Margaret Phelps described Tennessee Tech's innovative literacy outreach programs; a regionally sensitive model for rural teacher development as practiced in North Carolina was presented by Walter Oldendorf; and Todd Strohmenger reviewed the Appalachia Educational Laboratory's innovative model for developing and/or enhancing school/ community partnerships. Other equally interesting papers on the role higher education has played, or ought to play, in educational improvement were presented by William Hayes, John Wells, and Sherralyn Cox.

When all is said and done, the Second Annual Conference on Appalachia covered a broad range of topics and issues. Many people who attended were exposed either to perceptions on educational issues in the region about which they had been formerly unaware, or to new techniques and novel teaching strategies which they may want to try now on their own. We recommend the following essays from our conference as stimulating reading, both for those who attended the conference and for those who could not.

As this collection suggests, we do have important educational issues and problems in Appalachia. Yet, as they also suggest, such issues are complicated and typically call for more thorough discussion and analysis than we usually get either in the media, from national policy makers or in our colleges of education. We at the University of Kentucky Appalachian Center hope that this collection will prove interesting, thought-provoking, and useful to Appalachian educators and Appalachian scholars as we move toward educational reforms and issues of the 1990s.

Notes

1. For more complete discussions of this interpretation, see Jonathan Sher's Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of the Conventional Wisdom, or my own essay "The status of American rural education research: An integrated review and commentary" in Review of Educational Research, 57 (2), pp. 123-148.

2. See for example David Tyack's, The One Best System (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), or Henry Perkinson's The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1976 (New York; Random House, 1968).

3. The works of Alan Peshkin are particularly good on these themes. See his Growing Up American: Schooling and the Survival of Community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978; and The Imperfect Union: School Consolidation and Community Conflict. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

4. Dixie Goswami was unable to provide a copy of her remarks before the deadline for these Proceedings. However, a good illustration of her interests and contributions are available in D. Goswami and P. Spillman (eds.), Reclaiming the Classroom: Teacher Research as an Agency for Change. Upper Montclair, New Jersey: Boynton/Cook Publishers, 1987.♦

THE FOXFIRE EXPERIENCE: SCHOOL/COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Eliot Wigginton
The Foxfire Fund
Rabun Gap, Georgia 30568

Ed. note: An audio tape of Eliot Wigginton's unedited remarks and of his student Dale Trusty's comments is in the archives of the Appalachian Collection at the University of Kentucky's M.I. King Library.

A dilemma that I always face in giving a talk is that I never know whether to be optimistic or pessimistic. I have a Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde existence, and I keep vacillating between the two extremes. Sometimes I get very hopeful about the way things are going, and then something will happen that will shove me backwards and remind me again that, although we may be going forward, every step forward is accompanied by a couple steps backward. Some things we never seem to learn. This speech is going to reflect that optimistic/pessimistic dichotomy that I carry around with me like a piece of baggage.

This year I've been lucky in having a group of students in one of my classes who have been extraordinarily honest and thoughtful. It's a group of 30 ninth and tenth graders. Dale Trusty, who is here with me today, is one of them. Through their honesty and their thoughtfulness and through some of the things we've done together in the last three or four weeks, I've had to struggle with pessimism coming back to the fore.

A terrible thing is happening to us. Robbie, a student I had with me two weeks ago in Berea to give a talk down there, shared with me one of the things that's happening in an English class that he's taking in addition to my English class. Robbie stood in front of the group in Berea and shared with them the fact that for the entire first six-week marking period of this school year, all he did in one English class was to review the parts of speech. Robbie had an interesting insight:

> You know what amazes me is that half of us knew the parts of speech already because we'd been doing them since the fourth grade. For the other half they didn't know them when they came into the class and they didn't know them when we finished, because the way the teacher taught the parts of speech was the same way they had been being taught to those kids since the fourth grade. They hadn't learned from the previous five years and they didn't learn them this year either, and so everybody wasted the first six weeks of school.

This is a brand new teacher, right out of college, just having been taught how to be a teacher, and she made one of the critical mistakes. She will continue to make those critical mistakes throughout the rest of this year, unless somebody grabs hold of her and sits her down. The victims are ninth grade kids like Robbie who don't understand why this is happening to them and yet know all too well what it is that is happening to them.

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of this week, I was travelling in a car caravan, myself and four other previous "Teachers of the Year," in the state of Georgia. Our job was to visit the classrooms of the four finalists for this year's award, observe them teaching, and pick a winner. With our caravan of five "teachers of the year" and some people from the state department of education, we went into each teacher's classroom to sit and watch.

On Tuesday of this week, I saw another of those things that makes me sad. I was in a classroom with an English teacher of twelfth grade students -- advanced placement, college bound students -- doing a lesson on Chaucer. They were getting ready to read one of the first portraits, and, as a preface to that, the teacher put up on the board ten terms that students presumably need to know before they can understand Chaucer. The teacher led these students through what was supposed to be a discussion. This veteran teacher stood in front of us and made what is another of those critical mistakes that we never seem to be able to get away from somehow. She put on the board the term 'naturalism' and said, "What is that?" The kids all looked very confused and suspicious. One of the kids finally got up enough nerve to say "nature." She said, "That's right. It's the attributing of animal characteristics to human beings; it's bestiality." Then she went on to give an example of one of the characters that Chaucer portrays that has a wart on the end of his nose with coarse brown hairs coming out of it, like the hair in the ears of a hog. This kid sat there and looked at his classmates and said, " Well."

This terrible thing is happening to us. We think that teaching style makes a discussion and that kids are thinking. We have all the right answers, and the kids guess and hope they get it right. And nobody learns.

Wednesday, I was in the classroom with another of those teachers, a fifth grade social studies teacher. She had come up with a great idea for helping the kids understand, to bring to life, a unit about the conquistadors, Cortez and other early explorers.

She had devised a double jeopardy game. It had a counter in the front of the classroom, and it had three lights--a green one, a white one, and a yellow one. The class was divided up into teams, and at her direction three of the teams, with four kids to a team, would come up and line up behind the lights. They would guess a number, and, based on how close they came to the number she had picked and written on the board previously, the first kid would choose a question. She had the questions on a board with pockets arranged by points: seven kinds of questions in seven rows with 2, 4, 6, 8, or 10 point questions in each. The kids got up behind the table and began.

I sat there sinking deeper and deeper into my seat as I realized what was happening. First, one of the kids chose the category "Pictures," and there was supposed to be a stack of pictures in the room so she could find one and hold it up and the kid would guess who it was. But on this particular day, something had happened to her stack of pictures. They had disappeared. Without even thinking about it, she made an unconscious teacher mistake. Instead of saying, "I put them someplace and I can't find them," she said, "Somebody has picked up my pictures," immediately shifting the blame to some anonymous kid, when it fact it was her own fault.

They crossed off that category and were left with six; meanwhile, the kids were in rows, and one chose a ten-point question and got it right. All of a sudden, looking at this, we all realized that it was an impossible situation. First of all, there were seven teams of students, but only three lights at the board; this meant that you had Teams 1, 2, & 3 go, and then you had Teams 4, 5, 6 go, and there was still Team 7. They didn't have anyone to compete against, and so they had to do Teams 7, 1, & 2.

The other thing we realized right away was that each of the pockets containing questions had only two questions apiece. The kids in the first three groups understood immediately that if they got all of the eight and ten point questions, there would be no way anybody else from each of the remaining rows could win, so they got them all on the first round, and they had sixty and eighty points apiece. The other four teams came up to the board knowing that the maximum they could get was thirteen. There was no way they could win the prizes that the teacher had rounded up in the form of jerseys and things like that, which the kids wanted but couldn't get. Everybody, all the kids in the room saw right through it and knew instantly what was happening.

All of the kids in the room could have done a much better job of designing that game and running it for their peers.

A terrible thing is happening to us: we think that good education and good teacher-training means helping teachers understand all the kinds of things they can come up with and design for their kids and present in finished form, forgetting all the while that in many cases the kids could do the job better and learn something in the process.

Philosophers have been warning us about this kind of thing for a long time. Dewey wonders about it in 1937, of course, and prior to that. This terrible thing happens where we continue to slam ourselves back and forth between the extremes of traditional practices and quasi-progressive practices, never quite finding that higher ground somewhere in the middle that blends both together.

The biggest problem we face, of course, is collective amnesia. It seems as if we never learn. Unlike other professions, we never seem to learn from the lessons of the past. Unlike other professions, we never seem to be able to somehow gather together a core of collective wisdom and carry it with us into the future. Unlike other professions, we stumble along through ten or fifteen years of trial-and-error experience, while the kids suffer through our mistakes, and finally we get to the point where we become at least responsible, if not great. We watch the brand new teachers come into the field and begin the whole process again. Things just don't get any better.

We keep forgetting how people learn. We keep forgetting how people incorporate wisdom into that brain. It doesn't do any good to have a flood tide of new materials for our classes. It doesn't do any good to have a flood tide of new worksheets and new textbooks and new supplementary educational materials, if we're going to teach them using bankrupt methodology. It doesn't do any good. It doesn't do any good to insist that all the extracurricular activities in the school be eliminated in favor of academic classes, and everybody get tough, if what we're going to do in the interest of increased academic rigor is take kids through six weeks of review of the parts of speech and hold their heads under water. It doesn't do any good. All we do is turn more kids off. We keep forgetting how it is that people acquire information, and we keep forgetting the kinds of things that make for a powerful educational experience.

* * *

If I had the time with you, or if we carved out a special session in the context of this conference to put any of you who were interested together in the same room and to give you one question, a remarkable thing would happen. If I had you together in one room, I would say, "Each of you recount for the group the most positive educational experience you had. I don't mean football games, but rather something in the context of an academic class."

As you recounted that experience to the group, and as we went around that room, each sharing positive moments that we've carried with us and never forgotten from our public school days, a list of common denominators would emerge, unaided. If we made a chart on the board, we would find as a group that we were able to boil out a list of common denominators of any powerful, memorable educational experience.

It's a fairly simple list, and it's not that hard to do. There is a degree of unanimity about the list that is remarkable. I have done this hundreds of times with groups of people in environments as diverse as Kodiak, Alaska, and West Palm Beach, Florida. The list is always the same, and it will always be the same for the rest of mankind. It's not anything that I discovered. It's material that philosophers have been sharing with us for years. I'll give you six or eight items from it.

Common Denominators of Any Powerful, Memorable Educational Experience

1. **The things that we did together really were academically sound.** I could see in front of me the difference -- in the quality of my work and the depth of my understanding -- before I started and after I finished. It was clear that I had acquired a solid chunk of information and that it was going to be useful.

2. **The activity that we did was appropriate to the academic agenda.** It wasn't an attempt by the teacher to stick square pegs in round holes. There was an elegant fit in terms of the way the activity we did together illustrated the curriculum and the piece of subject matter that we were after.

(It's great for example, to do a magazine with a group of students, but if the agenda the teacher has is to help kids understand comma splices, then a magazine as a project to illustrate that and to help kids understand how to fix those things is not necessarily the best way to do it. It takes two months to turn out a magazine, and it's a cumbersome, time-consuming process. That's not a good fit. Do you understand what I mean?)

3. **The thing that we did together was reasonably powerful.** It had a component of action. We did something. We weren't condemned to a life inside that textbook. It answered that question or that challenge that we give to all of our teachers, which goes something like this: "Let's do something with this stuff, instead of sitting here all day. Let's do something with it. What's it for?"

4. In most of these projects, **there was a generous element of student choice, of teamwork, of active problem-solving, of collaboration.**

5. **There often was an active ingredient of peer teaching.** (I don't mean the kind of bankrupt peer teaching where the smart kid takes the dumb kid through his homework assignment. I mean the kind of peer teaching where two people collaborate together and both learn. It's just that one has a bit of an edge on the other in terms of where to find the information and what you do with it once you find it.)

6. **It tended to be an illustration of good teacher practice.** It's perfectly possible, for example, for a teacher to take a great idea for a project and ruin it. It's perfectly possible for a teacher to take a project like Foxfire Magazine, or anything else that you want to name, and then come into class and say, as the lady did two days ago with her double jeopardy game, "I have decided that we're going to put out a magazine, and it's going to be called (whatever) and the contents are going to be (this and this), and the money is going to come from (A, B, and C); I've already raised some money, and I've already gotten permission from the principal to do it, and I've already talked to a lot of people in the community about what they'd like to see, and I've decided the due date for all of this material is going to be (the following), and the magazine is going to be published on (the following date), and you two guys are going to do this article, and you two guys are going to do that article. Now go to work."

The teacher expects the kids to be enthusiastic, and then she comes to me and says, "Well, I did the project that you've been doing in Rabun County and I was sure, because it worked for you and you said it would work, that it would. So I did it, and it didn't. I'm really upset about that." I say, "Well, how did you do it?" She tells me the story and I say, "Oh. You can't figure out why the kids didn't want to go along?" We can take wonderful ideas and ruin them through the abuse of methodology.

7. **The things we did tended to be connected to the community itself.** There was a clear linkage to that real world.

8. **Another ingredient tends to be that there is an audience beyond the teacher**

for the work that students do. It's an audience the kids are aware of. It's an audience they want to please. It's an audience that is genuinely appreciative of what the kids want to do.

You can turn out a literary magazine with a group of kids, for example, but for a lot of communities, that is bankrupt because nobody really wants it. How many haiku poems can you read without exhibiting some signs of distress? Maybe Grandma buys two copies.

Or there's another kind of magazine, perhaps like Foxfire, where readers who students may not even know personally come up to them on the street and say, "Do you understand how important what you're doing is? Do you understand the depth of contribution that you are making to this community? Do you understand that if you weren't taking the time to do this, it wouldn't get done, and it is critical that the job that you're doing get done, for our own identity and our own health as a community?"

Both are magazines. Both are student-produced. But one of them is really valued by its audience. That's a big difference.

And the list goes on. Some of you say, "Well, I remember the positive educational experience I had, the thing that really turned on my engines in a whole new way, but it had only two or three of those ingredients, and it didn't have them all." True, but what would the experience have been like had it had them all? What would we have had then? That is the question that has to follow. And so, in other words, there is a fairly easily identifiable set of guidelines -- a yard stick -- that helps us understand those things that are powerful and memorable educational experiences.

And the next question becomes, "Do we have what it takes in terms of energy and commitment to rethink the things we are doing inside our classrooms? Rather than condemning students to a life of reading chapter 32 and answering the questions at the back, can we figure out some way, together with our kids, to let air and light into that room and do something together of substance?"

I can show you lots of examples of what it looks like when it begins to work. I don't have a monopoly on those examples, but I can share lots of them with you. I have one here with me. I keep using these magazine examples, and I don't mean to, but it is so handy. This is the new issue of Foxfire Magazine; in this magazine, there is a study of land use patterns in Rabun County: who owns the land, how they got it, what it has done to our tax base, and what absentee ownership has done to our particular county. Typed single-space, done by a student, it goes from page 102 to 124, and would stand scrutiny in any university as a nice piece of research, with lots of data and lots of statistics.

And, if you review very quickly in your mind the checklist that I gave you, you will see that it fits every single one of those criteria. It's academically sound. It's academically appropriate. It's appropriate in a language arts class to have kids do research, but this is research. It isn't a term paper where you go to the library and copy six pages out of the encyclopedia two days before the term paper is due, hand it in, and the teacher puts an "A" on it. This is research. It hasn't been done before in our county. It's brand new.

Consequently, the people in the community say, "Oh, so that's why that's happening. So that's why our property taxes this year are twice what they were last year. Now I understand! I had some inkling that something was going wrong, but I never knew what it was until I looked at these statistics, and now I see. Clearly part of the problem is that only 18% of the land in Rabun County is available for private use; 76% of it is owned by the U.S. Forest Service, 18% of it is owned by Georgia Power, and 52% of the homes in Rabun County are owned by absentee landlords. And, obviously, there it is!"

So it's connected to the community, and it's valued by the audience. It's an example of good teaching practice. It was David's project; he picked it; he wrestled through all the problems that emerged in the process of trying to do this thing. It is very much his project, and there was a lot of student collaboration, as he trained people to help him wade through the tax assessor's records in the courthouse, process that data, and pull all that material together, day after day after day, after school.

There are lots of other examples: the nine books from Doubleday, the five books from E. P. Dutton, the three books from Foxfire Press, the four book manuscripts under development now.

I get a perverse kind of delight in the book publishing end of what we do with these thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen year old mountain kids who aren't supposed to know how to read and write yet. It's a fantasy that I share with people when I'm in peculiar moods, as I am this morning: I envision one of my students sitting in the office of the admissions director at a place like Georgia Tech, and some officious-looking character is grilling the kid, "Well, what have you ever done that would make us interested in your candidacy at this institution?" With an even stare, the kid looks right back and says, "Well, I wrote a book that was published by Doubleday. What have you done?"

Or take the television shows the students produce, or the radio shows the students produce, or the record albums and cassette tapes the students produce, or Foxfire, the play that our students have been involved with, which will be aired on CBS on December the 13th, as a Hallmark Television Special staring Hume Cronyn, Jessica Tandy, and John Denver. They filmed it down in Rabun County last April. And, if you happen to watch that on TV, you'll see my students with John Denver and Hume and Jessie, working together.

All these kinds of things are part of the answer to that student challenge, "What's it for? Let's do something with it!" I have a filing cabinet full of letters from the only people whose opinions I can trust, the people that went through it. I can't trust my principal to know what's going on; I can't trust my peers; I can't trust the media. The only people I can trust are the kids I've worked with. And they say, "Yes, it was critical, the kinds of things we did together."

But the most interesting thing for me has been seeing what happens to the stereotypical notions I carried with me into Rabun County about what mountain kids were and were not capable of doing. Now I see them operating at levels of absolute adult competence. And I know that the potential is there.

If the potential is there with our kids in Rabun County High School, with a high school principal that's an ex-football player and coach; with an assistant principal that's an ex-football player and coach; with 27 of the 53 faculty members, all coaches; with regular folks, 35-40% of whom go on to college and the rest of whom go on to the blue collar labor pool, I know that the potential is there in every high school, elementary school, and junior high school in the mountains--and, in fact, in every one of those schools in the country -- to make wonderful things happen in kids' lives, within the constraints of a traditional environment. I know the potential is there.

* * *

Despite the fact that I spend a good bit of time feeling frustrated after 22 years of doing all this, there is still enough positive stuff happening that it continues to be worthwhile on a daily basis. I honestly believe, though, that if it weren't for students like Dale Trusty, and if it weren't for what's happening in those classes in Georgia, and, more importantly, if it weren't for what's happening in Kentucky, I would quit.

What's happening in my own personal life, in my own personal classroom, has its own intrinsic rewards, and in most cases that's enough. It doesn't help the frustration I feel, however, when I realize that thousands and thousands of other kids out there are being hurt.

But what gives me a great measure of hope is this teachers' network in eastern Kentucky that you'll hear about tomorrow in a presentation that I guarantee will be powerful. What's happening in Kentucky -- and specifically in eastern Kentucky, where a group of teachers is working together to make things better -- defies all the stereotypes. It defies the stereotype of the eastern Kentucky mountain teacher as being basically incompetent. It defies the stereotype of what can or can't happen in eastern Kentucky schools because of political pressures. It defies everything that people tend to believe about eastern Kentucky students, kids that are, if anything, less competent than mine, dumber than mine, less ambitious than mine (otherwise, why would there be a 50% drop-out rate?). It simply defies all the stereotypes.

What's happening in Kentucky is that a teacher network is forming. I'm not going to explain how the whole thing works now because their presentation tomorrow will take care of that. I'll just say that it's coming out of a seminar at Berea College where I've been collaborating with groups of practicing teachers every summer. These teachers, after we've talked together about what kinds of things are possible and how we can make them happen, go back to their own classrooms, eager to work with their students to see what they can do inside that room, again, to let in air.

And a remarkable thing is happening. In classrooms throughout eastern Kentucky, exciting projects are happening. New things are going on in those classrooms that I use as examples now when I talk with others, as examples of things that are often even more intriguing than things that my own kids are doing in Georgia. It's gotten to the point in eastern Kentucky, with 40-45 teachers in the network and a fulltime coordinator, where I don't even use Foxfire classes as an example any more. When I have a new group of teachers at the Berea seminar, all my examples of good philosophy are Kentucky examples. It's gotten to the point where there are people all over the country who are watching this activity in eastern Kentucky, partly because it defies the stereotype so completely and partly because it may be one of the more intriguing examples of how teachers can support each other and collaborate with each other to make things better. People at the Harvard School of Education are watching this network in Kentucky, and they have asked me to come up this summer for a week-long course at Harvard; they want me to do with their people up there what's been done in Kentucky so that they can get their act together there, too. People are watching with an enormous amount of interest.

And what is happening, of course, after the seminar is over, is that teachers and their students do projects together. The teachers meet together throughout the year, instead of just being dumped back into the water in the fall. Debbie Bays, their full-time coordinator, stays in regular touch with them. There are in-service meetings that those teachers go to with their students to give presentations about the projects that they are doing together. The case studies that result from their projects are being published and distributed widely. But better and more intriguing still, the courses that happen at Berea are now beginning to be taught by those peer teachers and their kids.

And so, last summer, to give one quick example, Amy Rogers came with her second grade kids from Harlan, Kentucky. Amy had gone back to Harlan with the idea from the previous summer course that she would present traditional Jack tales to her students; her thought was that the students would learn the motifs, write their own Jack tales, then dramatize and publish them. And she presented that idea to the students and said, "Okay, now we're supposed to see whether or not you want to do this," and they didn't want to do it.

And so, through a brainstorming process, the students decided that they wanted to make a videotape instead. So they made a video tape. It's a half an hour long, on environmental pollution in Harlan County. The students divided into four groups and wrote four plays, great plays, one of which is a satire in which the United States has evolved into a new society; it's against the law to pick up litter and trash, and the only clean places in the society are the insides of garbage cans. The four plays are presented, interspersed with posters that the kids made, interspersed with material from interviews the kids did in their community with people who have some knowledge of environmental issues. One interview, for example, was with the man who runs the landfill there, and the kids question him on how that whole thing works.

Then, at the end comes what may be the most compelling credit line in the history of the medium: as music plays, each of the kids stands holding a big poster, behind his or her name in big colored letters. All grins, the kids are talking animatedly, out from behind their long posters. As the camera moves from one to the next to the next, you see this unending line of beautiful second-grade children, grinning, gap teeth and all.

The kids presented the video to us the next summer at Berea, and one of the results, of course, was that the video was shown to their parents, and all the kids got copies of it, and they took it home and played it on their VCRs and watched what they'd done, again, in their living rooms at night.

And I get the sense of a wonderful thing happening in that classroom, and I wonder what's going to happen when these second-graders get to third grade and nobody understands. We'll have to fall back on that old line that says, "The best preparation for a bad experience is a good experience," and hope that's enough.

When the kids were finished giving their presentation to this new group of teachers at Berea, they took a break. They were banging on the piano in the room outside, and inside, where we were all just visiting, we could overhear them. Someone from the food service came running over and said, "Stop that! They are having a class in there." And a little second grade black girl named Victoria looked up at him and said, "We just finished teaching that class!"

I get a lift from this sort of thing. Watching that, I see these people growing, and I say to myself that it can happen anywhere. It's happening in Kentucky, and several of the teachers that are doing those kinds of things with their kids are here with us and will share some of what they're doing tomorrow morning. I encourage you to take a look at that, because once teachers understand the principles and understand how to bring things to life, it can happen in any classroom with any group of kids in any environment. And what we do, these teachers in the network, myself, and students, is basically symbolized by one of Apollinaire's poems, Jessica Tandy's favorite, that she shared with me one day. I think it fits here, as a conclusion:

--Come to the edge.
--It's too high.
--Come to the edge.
--We might fall.
--Come to the edge.
And they came.
And he pushed them.
And they flew.♦

ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN APPALACHIA IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUITY

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of Appalachian ethnicity and its relationship to educational inequities in the southern Appalachian region. The research upon which this paper is based was carried out over a two-year period by a multidisciplinary team of three researchers and focused on the interrelationship of two basic issues: (1) the question of Appalachian cultural distinctiveness and identity; and (2) the "failure" of schools in Appalachia as measured by such traditional standards as student achievement levels, dropout rates, and the percentage of high school graduates going on to college.

Ethnicity and Education in Appalachia

The question of ethnicity in Appalachia has been raised by numerous researchers; as many have concluded that Appalachians are an ethnic group as have concluded that they are not. Part of the problem lies in the racial and historical heritage of Appalachians. Appalachian natives are predominantly of white Anglo-Saxon and Scotch-Irish extraction, those groups settling the area in the 18th and 19th centuries. They are descendants of early American pioneers, which to many researchers makes them fundamentally "American" (Miller 1978a; Whisnant 1976).

The extent to which Appalachians differ culturally from other Americans is an important aspect of the debate. Some authors maintain Appalachians have no unique subculture (Billings 1974; Fisher 1978; Ford 1962; Miller 1978a). Other researchers concentrate on describing the content of what they feel is a distinctive ethnic culture in Appalachia (Jones 1971; Friedl 1978; Pearsall 1966; Williams 1961). Characteristics cited include ties to their homeland (the mountains), familism, a unique history, a Southern Mountain dialect, fundamentalist Protestant religion, and various value orientations.

Others, including Batteau (1980), Gaventa (1980), and Whisnant (1980), argue that "Appalachian culture" is a valid construct but it has been "politically constituted," created through "negotiation and struggle" with the larger society. Still others, such as Shapiro (1978), articulate the historical development of the idea of Appalachians as a distinct people in the national consciousness. The stereotypes of Lil' Abner, Snuffy Smith, and the Beverly Hillbillies are well known. These perceptions of "otherness" have emerged during the last century of increased exploitation of the region by outside groups.

Self-identity, on the other hand, is less apparent. Miller (1978b) states Appalachian people have never thought of themselves as "Appalachians," for their identity is as Americans first and with the local region second. McKinney (1978) argues Appalachian ethnic identity was created by Appalachian politicians after the Civil War and was dropped by 1900 when no longer useful to them. Whisnant (1973), however, finds a regional consciousness emerging based on the people's struggle against external control.

Ethnographic research on education in Appalachia is almost non-existent. There have been no systematic inquiries into problems of textbook and teacher stereotyping, the teaching of multi-cultural populations, or educational incongruities as they relate to Appalachia. On the other hand, many social commentators, most of whom are native to Appalachia, have written about the weaknesses of education in Appalachia and provided their prescriptions for remedying the situation (Branscome 1972; Browning 1978; Clark 1974; Ikenberry 1970; Ogletree 1978; Miller 1977). These writers have dealt with many of the same issues that have been emphasized in research on ethnic minorities in the United States: issues of educational prejudice, alienation, stereotyping, and cultural misunderstanding and conflict. However, their observations are without ethnographic data for support.

The few community studies that have been done in Appalachia have often included observations about education and schools (Beaver 1976; Foster 1977; Hicks 1976; Weller 1965; Stephenson 1968). Generally, however, these observations have been limited parts of the studies, and in no case has education and the schools been a focus or even a major part of the study. Nevertheless, the observations that have been made in these studies suggest that schools in Appalachia do have many of the same problems that face other schools serving more familiar ethnic groups. Weller (1965) comments on cultural resistance to education among Appalachians. While Hicks (1976) found a more positive attitude toward education in the ideal sense, this attitude was significantly tempered by disappointing experiences in the real world of the school where rural students were stereotyped as backward, ignorant, and rowdy.

The lack of attention that Appalachia has received from educational researchers is even more surprising given the fact that schools in Appalachia appear to have been "failures" as measured by such traditional educational norms as student achievement levels, dropout rates, and the percentage of high school graduates going on to college. For example, Graff (1962) reports that the Southern Appalachian Attitude Survey found 38% of rural eighth graders and 20% of rural twelfth graders in Appalachia had been held back one or more years. The Appalachian Regional Commission's Educational Advisory Committee found the Appalachian dropout rate between grades one and twelve averaged 65% compared to 36% nationally (Parker 1970). In some Appalachian school districts, the dropout rate is as high as 85% (Schrag 1972). Of the population 25 years and older, only 10% in Appalachia had finished college in 1976 compared to 15% nationally (Appalachian Consortium 1981). Furthermore, fully 62% of the region's adult population has not completed high school; 30% is classified as functionally illiterate (Eller 1985).

The controversy over the existence of Appalachian ethnicity has made it difficult to analyze systematically the degree to which Appalachian ethnicity is related to the school experience. A major part of the problem is the narrow definition of ethnicity often utilized. Most researchers, including both those who are advocates and critics of the application of the concept to the region, emphasize what Despres (1975) has called the "objective" dimension of ethnicity, which stresses a distinctive system of material culture, language, behavior, and values. The controversy has centered around whether Appalachian people exhibit a unique cultural system, or whether they are mainstream, albeit predominantly rural, Americans.

This approach to ethnicity ignores what Despres (1975) has called the "subjective" dimension which emphasizes such things as self-identification and perceived differences. This approach has led to the application of the concept of ethnicity to groups that are not clearly distinguishable by cultural background (Castile and Kushner 1981; Keyes 1976; van den Berghe 1976).

The objective and subjective approaches to ethnicity may be refined further to include three dimensions of ethnicity: the cultural; the structural; and the symbolic (Keefe, Reck and Reck 1983). The cultural dimension emphasizes cultural content, including a distinctive system of material culture, behavior, customs, and values shared by a group (Greeley 1974; van den Berghe 1976; Warner and Srole 1945). The structural dimension focuses on the opposition of groups and the competition for scarce resources as the basis for ethnicity (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Keyes 1976). Finally, the concept of ethnic identity is at the center of the symbolic dimension of ethnicity. Here, the emphasis is on emotional attachment to a group, a sense of "peoplehood," and the perception of distinctiveness of a group and its way of life (Geertz 1963; Isaacs 1975).

The Construction of Appalachian Ethnicity

In order to understand these three interlocking dimensions of ethnicity within the school context, research was undertaken in a culturally, economically, and demographically heterogeneous county school system in southern Appalachia. Heterogeneity was necessary in order to investigate the symbolic and structural oppositions of the tripartite ethnicity model, as well as to study the potential contributing factors of socioeconomic class and rural/urban residence.

The county that was selected as the research site is significantly diverse, having experienced considerable change, especially since 1960. A large portion of the county's population is made up of individuals who have family ties of three generations or more to the Appalachian mountains. On the other hand, a four-year university and a substantial tourist economy have attracted many people from outside the region to the county. The university and the tourist/recreation industry have also contributed to the growth of the upper-middle and upper socio-economic classes. Nonetheless, lower-middle and lower income individuals predominate, working in light industry, as small farmers or as blue collar workers in the tourist industry or the college. The county seat is the only urban area, making up about one-third of the county's population. The consolidated high school is the single county institution in which this social and economic diversity comes together on a daily basis. It is for this reason that the research focused on families with high school aged children.

Data for the research were collected from 1983-1985 in several different ways, the primary approach being structured interviews. Interviewees included parents of high school aged students, parents of recent dropouts, enrolled high school students, recent school dropouts, elementary and high school teachers, as well as local principals and administrators. Also, seventeen case studies were selected; each case study family had at least one child enrolled in the high school or a child who had recently dropped out of high school. Two surveys were also administered to high school students, one dealing with participation in extracurricular activities and the other with ethnicity among students. We made informal observations at the high school as well as formal observations of selected high school classes. We also conducted numerous informal interviews, observations, and discussions during the course of the research, as well as an analysis of archival records.

In order to describe the construction of Appalachian ethnicity, we will discuss data on the informal social system of the high school and on teachers' perceptions of students. These data come from formal and informal interviews with students, dropouts, parents and teachers, as well as direct observation in the high school. Those people interviewed were representative of the socioeconomic, ethnic, and residence diversity of the county.

The informal social system of the high school consists of three general groups of students. These groups are labeled differently by students, but they are the most frequently conceptualized groups. The first group is labeled variously as the "upper group," the "popular group," the "college prep group," or the "snobs," depending on the group membership of the identifier and the circumstance under which the identification is made. The most frequent labels for the second group are the "middle group," the "no-name group," the "average group," or as simply a category in which everyone who doesn't belong in one of the other two groups can be placed. The third group is labeled as the "lower group," the "vocational group," "mountain kids," or more derogatorily as the "Rednecks" and the "by-Gods" (referring to a phrase said to be frequently used by this group). Although there were minor variations which added various smaller sub-groups to this system, these three groups tended to be identified as the major social groups, particularly by students who placed themselves in either the first or second group. However, many of the students who were placed in the lowest status group by members of the other two groups, distinguished only between two major groups, in effect, "us" and "them."

The distinctions between these groups are made on the basis of such factors as clothing, behavior, speech patterns, academic levels, attitudes, economic background, residence in the county, and perceived (or symbolic) ethnicity. As one might expect, the strongest contrasts are made between the first and third groups regardless of the group to which the student drawing the contrast belongs.

Members of the high status "popular" group are described as those who participate in sports, certain clubs and activities, and win awards which indicate popularity. They are described as usually taking college prep or upper level courses and typically residing in or near town. Most often, they are said to have graduated from a few specified elementary schools. Their families are of middle class or higher socioeconomic background. They are predominantly, although not exclusively, non-Appalachians, or "outsiders." Students who place themselves in this group describe it in terms of positive attributes. Those who do not place themselves in this group frequently refer to it in negative terms such as "snobs," "bigshots," "Floridians," "outsiders," or "doctors' and professors' kids."

Members of the lowest status group are described as those who participate in the formal social system minimally. They are described as usually taking vocational courses and tending to reside "out in the county." Their families are of lower socioeconomic background and are perceived in one way or another as "locals." Speech is also a distinguishing factor with certain accents and speech patterns identified as "mountain." Students who place themselves in this group describe it with pride as comprising the "real" residents of the county who are more friendly, hard-working, non-materialistic, and attached to the mountains than are those in the "popular" group. Members of the other two groups describe those in the third group largely in negative terms, as dressing "poorly," using "incorrect" language, having a "bad attitude" toward school, behaving "roughly," and coming from "bad homes." They refer to them derogatorily as "Rednecks" or "by-Gods."

Members of the middle group are described in more varied terms. There is little consistency in describing their distinguishing characteristics, and the group appears to include a mixture of students from a wide range of backgrounds. Students who place themselves in this group, however, describe it in positive terms. They see themselves as neither "snobs" nor "Rednecks." They see themselves as "normal" or "average" and frequently as the group which "holds the school together" by serving as a buffer between the hostility expressed toward one another by members of the other two groups. Students in the high status "popular" group express rather neutral attitudes toward those in this middle group. As mentioned earlier, those in the lowest status group usually place themselves in a single group along with students in this middle group.

To summarize this informal system, a statement of a rural working-class student whose family has lived in the county for four generations and who places herself in the middle group is typical:

> It's just like society. There's the upper class, the middle class and the

> lower. The upper class is big in sports and they always get what they want. They're always making fun of others, like they're real special. The middle class is maybe more serious; they're just kind of normal and straight. The lowers don't care about anything -- themselves, school or other people.

The most common distinction that teachers make is between "rural" and "town" students. Seven out of ten of the teachers interviewed maintain that there are definite differences between "rural" and "town" students. These perceived differences are most often related to socioeconomic variation and associated differences in attitudes and lifestyles. One non-Appalachian teacher said this:

> When I started teaching at (this rural) elementary school, it was like culture shock coming home (to town) every day. My students would talk about putting up silage, putting up hay, putting out 'baccer' (tobacco), putting up tomatoes -- rural things. Kids from town talk about travelling to Europe, going to camp -- affluent things.

An Appalachian high school teacher distinguished the two groups in this way:

> The Rednecks wear the typical uniform with farm-type clothes, flannel shirts, and a cap with the name of a seed company or some chemical company on the front. They'll wear the cap religiously; you have to ask them to take it off. They chew tobacco. They use a 'Good Ol' Boy' type speech. They say 'you'uns' while the social/intellectual group never would -- they'd use proper English. The intellectuals are members of the National Honor Society, the Key Club; they are the social types. They are in the 04 level classes [an upper track]; they'll be doctors and lawyers.

However, the contrasts between "rural" and "town," "poor" and "middle-class" are also frequently glossed over into distinctions between ethnic groups: Appalachians and non-Appalachians. Terms such as "rural," "Redneck," "county kids," and "mountain kids" were often used as if they were synonymous.

Almost all of the teachers (83%) interviewed feel that rural and urban students are treated differently at the high school. High school teachers, who are most knowledgeable about that environment, cite differences in after-school club participation and selection for team sports, special attention given by teachers, counseling, tracking into upper or lower level classes and college prep versus vocational courses, receipt of honors and awards, and disciplinary action. In all of these areas, town kids are perceived as having the advantage.

Both Appalachian and non-Appalachian teachers' comments are more likely to flatter town students than rural students. For example: "Town kids are more confident and do better academically;" "Rural kids are more inhibited, uncomfortable in new situations," "Town kids have good grammar and descriptive language. Rural kids have bad grammar and slower, slurred speech;" "Town kids have more social skills, are more confident, are more involved in school activities, and do better academically." Less frequently, however, there are teachers who regard rural students more positively; more often these are the Appalachian teachers. The following statements by two teachers serve as examples:

> Rural kids are more courteous, respectful, and determined. I think this comes from the families giving the children more responsibilities at home. Town kids may have both parents working and more free time or unstructured time on their hands. I think city children are spoiled, ruthless, hateful, jealous, lying, conniving, destructive. My kids (at this rural elementary school) have lots of maturity. They share things. They are more disciplined, and there isn't as much destructive jealousy or competition. My kids

> would take their shirt off their back if you needed it. The kids at (the town school) would be more likely to draw on one another's shirt.

While teachers typically perceive rural and town students as polar opposites, this in some ways may only reflect the group-like nature of the smaller number of students found at the two extremes of the cultural and socioeconomic scale. As mentioned earlier, students commonly identified a middle social group, though interestingly it was often labeled a "no-name" group or a group only in the sense that the students did not fit into the two extremes. Most of the students we interviewed placed themselves in this middle group which encompasses a mix of rural/urban residence, social class, and ethnicity. Teachers, however, rarely identify this larger mixed aggregate of students. Nor are teachers likely to distinguish subtypes within the rural or urban groups of students. Only two teachers, for example, specifically noted differences between social class levels among rural students; according to one of these teachers, the county kids include: (1) the "Reds" or "Rednecks" who "are rough around the edges" and only come to school until the age of 16 and (2) the "middle class rural" who do well in elementary school and who "want an education but are still out of the mainstream."

This process of labeling and grouping begins early in a student's career. Elementary school teachers often remark that students begin to sort themselves out in the early primary grades, so that by the fifth grade definite cliques based on ethnic and class boundaries have formed. The poorest and most culturally distinctive students get labeled first. Some of the kindergarten and first-grade teachers interviewed stated that they could already tell which of their students would drop out of school eventually. In the most rural elementary schools where residents are more homogeneous culturally and socioeconomically, this process is to some extent mitigated. Many teachers in these rural schools describe their school as very close-knit and supportive. They note the presence of kinship ties among their students and frequently use kinship terms to describe interpersonal relations at their school. Two rural school teachers' comments will serve as examples:

> The children are so good with each other. They're either related to one another or they know each other. No one is a stranger. They take care of each other like one big, happy family. They really help each other. There are no real groups at (this) school. Here the kids feel like a family. They really are all the same. It won't be like that at the high school. Some won't fit.

It is in the transition to high school that the labeling process is inescapable. At first this is accomplished by using elementary school identifiers. As a teacher at the most rural school remarked, "Even our best children get put down as country kids at the high school. My daughter goes to (the town) elementary school, and her friends all think the children out here at this rural school are dumb." In the status negotiation process which all rural students must go through at the high school, those who are middle class or are non-Appalachian typically have resources which permit rapid mobility out of the "Redneck" category.

These groups described by students, parents, and teachers are not just conceptual categories; they are also real social groups which have a significant impact on how students experience the high school. The negative impact, as in any socially stratified system, is felt most by the bottom group. Students in the lowest status group and their parents perceive that they are treated less favorably at the high school. Indicative of the depth and intensity of this perception is an incident described by an 18-year old "pushout" whose family has lived for four generations in a rural area of the county:

> In my history class the teacher

> never would call on the bunch of us from...(a specific area of the county). It was always someone else. Finally, several of us asked her why and she said, "'I didn't think you'd know the answers." How did she know? She thought that we didn't know as much because we're from...(a specific area of the county).

Her father went on to describe the students (and their parents) in the high status group:

> They treat us like dogs. They think they're better and smarter. Now I don't care who you are or how much you want to go to school, if someone treats you like a dog you aren't going to put up with it. You'll either fight or walk away. It doesn't do any good to fight. So it's better just to come on back here (the area of the county) where people accept you for who you are.

Membership in these groups is not fixed. However, when students enter the high school as freshmen, typically they are placed in a group within this system based mainly on where they come from in the county. Certain areas in the county are considered by students to be the primary source of lower group members, while other areas are considered to be the primary source of upper group members. As one middle-class student who came from an area associated with the lower group said:

> Some people (himself included) get labeled Rednecks as soon as they walk in the door... But you got to work through it... After they get to know you, it's different. They see you're not a Redneck.

So individual acceptance by peer groups involves a process of negotiation upon arrival at the high school. One manages to "work through" this forced identity through behavioral and associational changes. Individuals who desire to work out of this initial lower group identification must associate with the "right" people in the "right" places in the "right" way. For many, this means giving up old friends. As one rural student who had managed to "work through" to the middle group said:

> The "by-Gods" hang out in the smoking area and another area outside of the school. If you don't want to be labeled a "by-God," you don't dare go into these areas even if you have a friend there. You have to be careful who you associate with if you don't want to have to fight off a label.

The primary factor related to the ability of students to "move up" in the system is socioeconomic background. Middle-class Appalachian culture varies only slightly from its non-Appalachian counterpart. But if a student comes from certain rural areas of the county he/she may be perceived by non-Appalachians as different and, therefore, identified as a "Redneck." An upper status socio-economic background provides these students with the means and the inclination to work through this initial forced identity.

Many teachers recognize the effect of the labeling process on students' attitudes and behavior. Rural students are often perceived as being shy, less confident, insecure, and frightened, with feelings of inferiority. One Appalachian teacher remarked, "The rural students don't think they have such a great life. They are afraid teachers won't approve of them." But more often, it is the negative attitudes and actions of other students rather than teachers that are emphasized: "Town kids look down on county kids;" "Town kids do not act positively to rural kids; they shun them;" "Town and rural kids are snobbish to each other." As this last quote points out, mutual prejudice may exist. Nevertheless, the social stratification system favors those who live in town. As one teacher put it, "Town kids have been made to feel that they excel." In fact, the majority of teachers interviewed perceive town students to be more sophisticated and knowledgeable about the world, to be more studious, to demonstrate more leadership in the classroom, and to be more concerned about getting an education. And as one perceptive teacher points out, "People perceive there is a difference, whether there is or not."

Additionally, students from rural, low-income, and native Appalachian families are less likely to be placed in upper track classes, to get above average grades, and to take college-prep courses and go on to college, and they are more likely to take vocational education courses and go directly into a job after high school or to drop out before graduation. They are also less likely to participate in school-sponsored clubs, sports and activities. In summarizing this system, one teacher noted, "It is like racism except these aren't Blacks."

Conclusion and Implications

Thus, Appalachian ethnicity is constructed primarily of symbolic and structural dimensions. Appalachian is contrasted with non-Appalachian ethnicity both in terms of self-identity and in terms of oppositional struggle. While the factors of class and residence often confound the distinctions, the lines are conceptualized as predominantly cultural in nature.

These distinctions are quite clear despite minimal cultural differences between the two groups. In fact, what appear to be cultural differences to some are primarily class differences. Middle-class families from Appalachia differ only slightly from their middle-class counterparts from outside the region. Class appears to be the means by which Appalachian students are able to move from the lower group to the middle group in the school. That is, most Appalachian students, particularly those from rural areas, are placed in the lower group because of symbolic and structural ethnic distinctions, but the middle-class students are the ones who can "work through" that identity to become members of the middle group. It is significant to note that middle-class Appalachians do distinguish between themselves as members of the middle group and their non-middle-class counterparts who are members of the lower group. They use class criteria to make this distinction. However, Appalachians who remain in the lower group distinguish only between two groups -- us (locals) and them (outsiders). They rely upon symbolic and structural distinctions and ignore class distinctions.

Clearly, the unequal experience of rural, lower socioeconomic status, and native Appalachian students in the formal school system is mirrored in the informal social system of the schools. Students who are from poor, rural, and Appalachian families do not have an equal opportunity to participate and do well in the educational program at school. This is due in part to internal factors including currently existing policy formulated by the school system (such as the method of placement in track levels), as well as to the absence of significant policy measures which might help in alleviating this inequality (such as the lack of attention given to selection of textbooks sensitive to the heritage of Appalachian people). It is also a reflection of factors in the external social system where poor, rural, and Appalachian people are stratified into the lower ranks of society.

Students, parents, and teachers alike acknowledge that discrimination against rural students exists in the schools. But perhaps more obvious to individuals, especially rural students, and more emotionally difficult on a daily basis is the impact of prejudiced attitudes on the informal social system of the school. Rural, poor, and Appalachian students are perceived by others to be culturally and intellectually inferior and are socially isolated in the school system. This prejudice is evident in the almost casual use of the derogatory term "Redneck" by both students and teachers alike, in the obvious mutual dislike registered by students in the "upper" versus "lower" social groups, and in the uncomfortable feelings students describe when they are placed in situations dominated by one of the other social groups. Sometimes this prejudice erupts into violence such as a fight in the hallway. More significantly, the cumulative effect of prejudice and discrimination against rural, poor, and Appalachian students is poor educational preparation. This only serves to ensure, of course, that socioeconomic mobility for individuals from these backgrounds will be diminished and that their children will suffer from similar experiences.

Assuming that school systems in southern Appalachia want to maximize equitability of access to educational opportunities, they need to take into account the manner in which the construction of Appalachian ethnicity can have an impact on educational experience. Despite the recognition of stereotyping and prejudice by students, parents, and teachers in the school system studied, officials denied that such distinctions were made or existed. In a social system in which individualism and equality are considered basic values, and yet given a social system in which inequality is fundamental, official recognition of inequality would provoke volatile controversy. Avoidance of the issue, however, only ensures the continuation of an educational system in which, as one teacher put it, "The kids feel the winners have already been chosen before the game is ever played."

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COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO EDUCATIONAL POLICY: A CASE FROM RURAL KENTUCKY

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Under pressure from the State Board of Education to lower drop-out rates and to facilitate economically motivated school consolidations, educators can overlook wisdom embedded in the words and actions of students and parents. In Marion County Kentucky the drop-out rate is down to 2.75% (1986) and still another wave of school consolidations is underway. Yet the county finds itself dying economically and socio-culturally as high school graduates emigrate in search of industrial jobs. One community response to the effects of educational policy is a festival called Ham Days. I conducted formal interviews with educators, parents, and students for five months in 1987 in this rural central Kentucky county (population 18,000) where I have lived for twelve years. Quotations from these interviews provide cogent insights into the values and attitudes underpinning rural life (Dunne 1977) and also corroborate findings of cross-cultural research in rural education (Sher 1981:4).

In Marion County an investigation of school issues becomes a study of acculturation. Within this county, most agree that the past fifty years have brought about major lifestyle changes. Historically the economy was agricultural with heavy dependence on tobacco and dairy price supports. Today most families depend on a public job, even if they are still farming. The search for public work engenders out-migration or long daily commutes to urban centers. In addition to personal distress, this adaptive pattern creates economic distress as people earn and spend their money outside of the county. In response, parents and businessmen have joined forces to attract industries that will provide the jobs necessary to retain high school graduates whose wages are needed to support local businesses. Widespread parental involvement in this effort suggests to me that passive resistance is a more apt descriptor of the parental relationship to education than is the apathy so often cited by county educators.

While the current Superintendent of Schools wonders why Marion Countians show so little interest in education, his own eastern Kentucky school memories indicate the importance of personal identification for the development of academic interest: "I can remember at the age of five when the Commonwealth Insurance man came by the house and my parents began saving for my college education with a college insurance policy. I have been in school for forty-four years, since I was six years old. At the age of six we lived next to the school. At the age of eight we moved and until I was seventeen years old we lived directly across from the school where my father worked as a custodian for nine months when he had to leave mining. I was a friend of the principal, superintendent, custodian, and teachers."

The Superintendent of Schools from 1938 until his retirement in 1975 believes that "a school system's first goal should be academic excellence." In the pursuit of such excellence, Mr. Hugh C. Spalding oversaw the consolidation of numerous one- and two-room schools as well as the entire high school system. Today Mr. Spalding stands behind his controversial decision to consolidate the county's high schools, citing greater teacher excellence through required certification and the purchase of expensive equipment necessary to prepare students for non-farming careers. Mr. Spalding now believes that middle-school students are too immature to be placed in very large schools, and he understands parents who do not want their first graders bussed twenty miles even for a better education. To quote Mr. Spalding: "American schools are too big. School becomes more like a factory and a student becomes more like a number. This results in a loss of student identification with education and teachers and a loss of teacher identification with students. In smaller schools, parents, students and teachers all know one another."

The enculturating role of educators, strengthened by mandatory schooling, places educational policy in an ironic situation. To the degree that educational policy succeeds, the rural community it serves is destroyed. School consolidation places financial efficiency over the value of community, and emphasis on academic excellence prepares young people for jobs that separate them from their parents physically, intellectually, and ultimately emotionally. Parents articulate the presence of conflict when they proclaim that it is the place of the school system to teach their children the three Rs without infringing on the parents' role with such extras as homework and sex education. Parents fight back when they refuse to participate in Parent-Teacher Organization meetings or school fundraising activities as well as when they allow their children to miss school to work in tobacco or decide for themselves whether or not to drop out of school at the age of sixteen. By law parents must allow educational policy to influence their children for thirteen years, but they do not have to cooperate in this acculturative process.

I would like to turn now to one community response to the acculturation engendered by an education system designed in some far-off city to meet the needs of an industrial, and increasingly post-industrial, society.

Ham Days is a two-day annual celebration begun some eighteen years ago by the Chamber of Commerce to raise money for an industrial park. Poorly attended at first, today over 30,000 Marion Countians return home to throng streets decorated with reminders of the traditional way of life and to eat country ham on biscuits, fried apples, soupbeans, and cornbread. This year the theme HOMEPLACE elicited collages of old family photographs displayed in downtown windows. A newspaper editorial exhorted those thousands of out-migrant Marion Countians who still subscribe to the weekly paper to come home for Ham Days. For one weekend in late September, Lebanon's streets were again crowded with people in town to shop and socialize as was the custom years ago.

The basic unit in this celebration is the family. In this rural county, surnames still define one's character because people are members of families, not just individuals. Ham Days is a time when families gather in from all the places to which they have scattered. Families with members in states as distant as Utah schedule their reunions for this weekend. Contests celebrate the family. Mothers proudly display young children in a contest to select Little Miss Ham Days and Junior Farmer. Women compete at husband calling and men at hog calling in contests that make everyone laugh. And men demonstrate precision and prowess with contests of nail-driving and haybale tossing. After families have tasted of the public celebration on Main Street, they return to one member's home for private food and fellowship. People reminiscence about a time gone by when one's family and community were the center of one's life. To quote one lady: "Years ago, in homelife, fellowship, and spiritual things, we were rich because we were a family. We were poor in material things but we didn't know it. If you had a stove, a bed, and a dresser, you thought you had all you needed. Families were closer years ago, but worldly possessions and worldly things broke up this closeness."

Ham Days is a celebration of community. A ridiculous competition begins a week of fun-filled cooperation to preserve a community whose traditional way of life alone cannot provide the material expectations fostered by years of television and commercialization. This year, bankers, elected officials, and newsmen marked this temporary hiatus in professional and personal rivalries as they raced down Main Street carrying buckets of slop for the hogs. Ham Days is also a time of self-validation as people remember aloud that, while they were uneducated and poor by modern standards, they always had plenty of good food and neighbors were really neighbors. For a weekend, being a farmer is a source of great personal pride.

Volunteer labor makes Ham Days possible. People from every community in the county work together. The proceeds help fund an industrial park, downtown renovations, and a development expert hired to attract industry to the county. Everyone seems to understand the magnitude of the task. Exchanging tales of the power that once lay in helping one another with Herculean farm tasks allows them to believe that they will succeed.

The recent installation of a minimum security prison in the community of St. Mary threatens the Ham Days coalition of residents and business. Businessmen in Lebanon insist that the absentee-owned prison is a source of employment that will help the community grow economically. Residents of St. Mary insist that the prison threatens the security of community members. There are schools within two miles of the prison and land values are expected to go down with a prison located in the heart of this farming community.

Emotionally, the importation of a large group of strangers with proven anti-social attitudes and behaviors threatens the very concept of community. After receiving no support from the Chamber of Commerce, members of other communities in the county, or the State court system, residents of St. Mary began a public campaign to discourage volunteer participation in Ham Days.

The major controversy occasioned by the prison is but one indication that the meaning of community has changed over the years. The personalism and interdependency embodied in the Golden Rule no longer apply in an age marked by such words as competition, self-reliance, individualism, and upward mobility. Community no longer connotes the attitudes and behaviors associated with that time when people expected to live their entire lives in one place. To quote one lady who recognizes this change: "Today they mark off a group of houses and call it a community and it is no such thing. To be a community you have to know everyone in the community. It has to be personal. It has to be full of neighborliness, caring for one another."

The same paradoxical relationship between community and materialism embodied in Ham Days reappears in education issues. The value of community that fuels Ham Days participation also underlies parental efforts to halt school closings. One retired schoolteacher who still substitutes says: "It hurts a community to lose a school. It's the same as losing a church. It hurts business and property values, and the town becomes a ghost town. People move away to live near schools and churches. Today education destroys the rural community by causing a loss of people. Years ago it helped build up a community by ending illiteracy." The principal of an elementary school lists the advantages of a community school: "You know everyone there. You have a homey atmosphere. You leave class a better person, not just smarter. Better parent involvement. Teachers devote personal time throughout the summer to their classrooms. Teachers come early and stay late. They enjoy one another's company and unwind together. If a community loses its school, it loses its life. So much of community life is centered on the school." A school board member echoes this concern: "The school is the social gathering place of the community, and closing a school deadens the community."

Community is cooperative problem solving, while externally imposed school consolidations produce a sense of personal powerlessness. A parent reflects on the 1954 struggle to retain a community high school: "One of the main things is that they just did it. They didn't ask us about it." A few years ago school board members were told that copies of the Ten Commandments hanging in each classroom were illegal. To reconcile strong personal convictions with legal powerlessness, the board told the Superintendent of Schools that they would not vote on the issue of removal and he could do as he pleased. He quietly removed them during the summer. A school board member cites the number one school problem today as "too much state control over local schools. I don't agree with everything the State says or does, especially on the issue of sex education in schools." Of the 1984 mandatory closing of an elementary school he says: "If it had been handled differently there probably wouldn't have been so many hard feelings. Everyone knew it had to be closed because there were only sixty students in six grades."

Community is personalism while school consolidation produces impersonalism. A teacher compares her thirty-nine years in the classroom (1930-1969) to tales of teaching today and says: "I liked getting up every morning and being ready and being all day with the children. I liked being with the teachers before classes began. I enjoyed teaching, school picnics, and ball games. My students still stop to talk when they see me in town. Back years ago, parents were interested in children and their schooling. Now they don't take an interest and all these young mothers have gone to work. Parents don't want teachers to give homework. They say, "That's the teacher's job." Today students are undisciplined. Years ago if we got a whipping at school, we also got one at home. Teachers were respected. Today the classrooms are large and the students are strangers. I wouldn't like teaching at all today."

A teacher whose parents instilled in her the importance of a college education reflects on her own elementary education in a community school: "I loved school as a child. I used to play school at home. There are very few employment opportunities for a woman in this community. I wanted to be an elementary education teacher or a beautician, and I decided I could make more money as a teacher. I thoroughly enjoyed being with other students when I was a student and today I enjoy being with other teachers." Of her experience at the county's consolidated high school she says: "I graduated from high school with people I had never even seen. I was in classes without anyone I knew. It is the most lonesome feeling you ever had right there in the middle of one thousand people. High school stopped being enjoyable for me when the schools were consolidated."

A young mother of nineteen who dropped out of school and later became the first and only member of her family to complete high school, when she passed the GED test, reflects on her school experience: "For the first six years I loved school. I was a cheerleader, the best speller in Bradfordsville Elementary, a straight-A student, a basketball player. My teachers were mostly from Bradfordsville and I can name them all. When our house burned, we moved into a trailer right across the street from the school. In seventh grade I rode the bus to Lebanon Junior High. I didn't know anyone there. I can't stand black people. I don't know why. I just don't like them, even though my sister lives with one of them and he has really straightened her up from being on drugs and her two girls call him daddy and he is good to them. I had hardly ever seen a black person before I went to Junior High with them. Over there the black boys pinched and talked nasty (sexual) to white girls. I am going to prepare my little girl. I am going to sit down and talk to her and tell her that if any of the black guys do her like they did me she should report them, not keep quiet like I did. She's going to finish school if I have to chain her up and sit there with her. In Bradfordsville I knew every family. Over there we hardly had any classes with anyone we knew over here. I had to start all over and make friends. I had no interest in school. And daddy got sick and I had to stay home and help Mom and Dad in tobacco because daddy's VA check didn't cover everything. They'd ask me to stay home, or I'd just stay because I knew they needed me to help with the bills. Another new thing in the seventh grade was having six or seven teachers and changing classes. The school was so big that the teachers didn't give a heck who came in or who went out. In Bradfordsville, teachers acted like they were interested in you. The few friends I made in Lebanon just lasted while I was there and that was it. I started skipping school more and more, and I just never went back after the eighth grade."

A teacher who began her career in 1935 in a one-room schoolhouse and who retired before consolidation closed the last school in her community tells a story that reflects the importance of personalism in education: "Each year they had a king and queen of the school. A child's name was drawn from a box. One year I drew out the name of a little boy from a very poor family and I wondered how his parents would get him properly dressed and to the school the night of the fall festival. The parents were so proud that they went all out and dressed him in a little red coat and blue pants. The mother held his hand all evening to keep him clean. After that the child and his parents were both much more interested in school."

A parent, proud of the fact that two generations of her family graduated from the same community school, reflects on educational changes she has seen over the years: "Years ago teachers visited every family and stayed overnight with them. They just visited for the day if it was a very poor family. It was very personal, the teacher was respected. The small neighborhood school is best but Kentucky is consolidating now, when other places are returning to the smaller neighborhood schools."

School consolidation threatens more than communal values. Issues of race, religion, and social class cannot be ignored. One involved parent saved a shoebox filled with newspaper clippings that clearly reflect the role of religion in the 1954 resistance to school consolidation. A Catholic superintendent of schools and a Catholic majority on the county school board decided to close the county's only Protestant high school. Parents responded with a bitter year-long school strike that closed all twelve grades. These parents objected to their children attending school where they would be taught by garbed Catholic nuns. Students were unable to accept being bussed to a school that had for years been their arch rival on the football field and where they would feel inferior for their humble clothing. These parents took their protests to the state court system. The court upheld the nuns' right to teach in Kentucky public schools and denied the parents' request that the Bradfordsville High School be reopened. Parents responded by privately bussing their children to a high school in Protestant Lincoln County for four years until the issue was defused with the graduation of the last high school student involved in the strike.

Today Protestants say that religion is not the issue it once was because changes in the Catholic church afford them a greater degree of respect. However, Protestant parents do think religion is the reason a new elementary school is to be built in a Catholic community eleven miles from Lebanon while a Protestant elementary school ten miles from Lebanon has recently been closed. Protestants attribute Catholic political power to a custom of block voting in accordance with the priest's views. (Kentucky Department of Transportation statistics show that out in the county Catholics outnumber Protestants in a 3:1 ratio.)

Social prejudices that separate people by income also appear in the educational context. Consolidation stories include tales of rural students who dropped out of high school rather than attend school in town where humble clothing would be mocked. The county Director of Pupil Personnel confirms that a major factor in the decision to drop out of school is socio-economic status, not race or religion. Moreover, teachers, administrators, and parents explicitly recognize that in its few short years the "gifted student" program has become one more vehicle of class segregation. All too often wealth, not academic excellence, determines who participates in this program.

School officials say that racial prejudice presents them with a growing problem. While privately whites express much racial prejudice, to date open conflicts between high school boys have numbered only one or two a year. Racial prejudice in the school system is neither new nor limited to students. One woman from a family that values education remembers when she always received a grade of C on her English compositions. Once a white girl who always received grades of A or B suggested that they switch papers to test the teacher. So they wrote out one another's papers. The black girl still received a C and the white girl still received an A. They did not confront the teacher as they realized they would both receive Fs. Although angry, the black woman says she at least was able to prove to herself that she was not just imagining the teacher's prejudice.

There are six black teachers and no black administrators in this school system of 195 certified teachers. Three teach elementary grades and three teach in the high school. One teacher says that black teachers dare not say more than hello to one another at school, or white teachers gather to overhear their presumably subversive conversation. In nineteen years of teaching, this black teacher has never been invited to a social gathering of white teachers. One principal told me that there is no special effort made to recruit black teachers because so many native whites are applying for teaching positions in the county. A black teacher told me that school administrators say they are unable to find black teachers to hire. The six black teachers must also bear racial prejudice from parents. One white parent blamed his adolescent's decline in enthusiasm for schoolwork on the fact that the student had a black teacher and was absorbing the quality of laziness he ascribed to all blacks.

The escalation of open racial conflict may reflect rising economic expectations and black recognition that no matter how they perform academically they will be unable to find jobs in the county. One recent graduate who now lives in Louisville said that every one of her black girlfriends has also left the county for work. Black males frequently look to the military for a job opportunity.

One employment incident encapsulates the dynamics of county race relations. In 1979, under federal pressure to improve its minority hiring record, the city's mayor appointed a black woman to the position of Assistant City Clerk. In 1982, the white male city clerk of thirty years found himself aged 68 yet unable to retire fully until 1984 and receive benefits from a pension plan begun in 1979. To resolve this dilemma, the city created and appointed this man to a quarter-time position labelled Administrative Assistant to the City Clerk. The mayor then appointed the black woman to the position of City Clerk. She did not change desks and received a very modest salary increase which the mayor justified by saying that she could not expect to begin in the position with a salary equivalent to that of the retiring city clerk. However, in 1982 an all-white city council also created a new position, called City Administrator, which they filled with a white male who received the desk and salary of the retiring white male city clerk. The black community was privately outraged, but this woman, the sole support of two minor children in a county with no elected black leaders and in a position that by law serves at the mayor's pleasure, did not take the issue to court.

Many whites say that they believe school integration is morally correct, and most agree that it is easier on students if integration begins in kindergarten rather than in high school. The black teachers, parents, and students I interviewed all agree that school consolidation is primarily a racial issue and that blacks benefit from consolidation. I would add that there are also white teachers, school administrators, and parents who say resistance to school consolidation is primarily a racial issue. Before consolidation black students endured the disadvantage of a poorly-equipped high school. All black students in Marion and Washington counties attended the only black high school, which was located in Lebanon. After years of bussing, it comes as no surprise that blacks do not associate school with community.

The unacceptability of racial, religious, and class prejudice does not nullify the importance of community in rural life or the non-academic role of a school in the rural white community. In 1984 three more elementary schools were closed. Two were in buildings owned by and located next to Catholic churches. Parents protested these closings to no avail. The school board recently announced that there will be a new public elementary school built in a Catholic community to serve these children and those of still another largely Catholic elementary school slated for closing. The new school will be white and Catholic, since in this school district there are only a few Protestant families and only eight elementary-aged black children. The third elementary school closed was the last school in a Protestant community. Likewise, parents protested the closing to no avail. The community has decided to rent the building from the Board of Education to provide a central gathering place for public meetings and social activities. Community members hold festivals and socials to raise money for the rent and maintenance of the new community center.

Blacks also have and covet a sense of community. The center of black community life is the church. Despite a single 6 a.m. Sunday Mass and encouragement from the priest, blacks never chose to attend the white Catholic church. One lady recalls with anger the forced consolidation of the black and white Catholic churches located across the street from one another: "I used to belong to the Christian Mothers' Society over at St. Monica, and I loved it. I've still got my medal. They tore down our church. I kept a brick of that church because it was so precious to me. I have not joined any of the societies over at St. Augustine's because I don't like the way they organize over there. When we had our Christian Mothers Sundays, all the Christian Mothers would go to the altar in a body first, and then the rest of the congregation after them. We mothers would have our big medals on ribbons hanging outside our clothes. We would all sit in a body, out in the middle aisle, all of us in a group. And we'd all go to Communion first. Over there at St A., they just act like a stampeding bunch of horses. Nobody respects nobody. You don't even know who is what anymore. The Christian Mothers don't wear their medals, or sit in a group, or even go up to Communion first." The personal sorrow still expressed by elderly blacks at the loss of the church their parents built contains a bitter twist. At the time of consolidation, the priest advised the black congregation that the south side of the white church was reserved for them to ensure that they found seating. Virtually all blacks segregated themselves by dutifully sitting on the south side where they continue to sit today.

Protestant blacks likewise resist the consolidation of the churches that symbolize their community identities. They retain separate Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches rather than extend their commitment to integration to the religious arena. Many of these churches mark otherwise unmarked communities, areas in which there are no more black residents but whose members return once weekly to ritually recognize the ties that bind them. Those who have moved too far away to attend weekly return for the annual church homecoming to renew childhood community identities. Death has reduced the active membership of one such church to six women. At another there are eight or ten active members left. Despite a move to town or declining membership, blacks who grew up out in the county retain a lifelong identification with their "home churches" and choose to be buried in these churchyards.

In Marion County, educational policy has done little to reconcile issues of community, race, religion, and class. As I listened to parents, students and educators I found no disagreement among them that a healthy individual needs both a community with which to identify and a job to provide for material necessities. It is a theme of family and community that draws thousands of Marion Countians home for Ham Days. This celebration of traditional ways and values is intended to preserve the community by attracting non-agricultural job opportunities for those who graduate from high school.

Ironically, as a theme of community and tradition draws increasing numbers to participate in Ham Days, school and community are losing their traditional identification. In the wake of school consolidations intended to promote academic excellence, there remains so little of the personal identification essential to school spirit that sports events once able to draw entire communities can no longer attract an audience, and parents behave as if teachers are their adversaries. Finally, while educators prepare students for non-agricultural jobs that spell out-migration, the persistence of local employment inequities indicates that thirty years of mixing students in consolidated schools has not directly addressed the social issues of race, religion, or class.

I think that smaller schools located in the county's three largest communities would better serve a rural population. In accordance with current residence patterns, the smallest school system would be Protestant and white, the next largest would be Catholic and white, and the largest and centrally-located school system would be equally Catholic and Protestant and have a black-white ratio of 2:1 rather than the current 9:1 that subjects black students to an overwhelming minority status. Specialized and advanced academic and fine arts courses offered at the centrally-located school would provide opportunities for constructive interaction among the three student populations. The model of bussing students from one school to another for advanced academic programs is already part of the elementary-aged gifted student program.

I also think that, in an age marked by mobility and information, Social Relations should become education's fourth R. As with the other three Rs, social relations should be taught in all thirteen years of schooling. Sociology has not even been taught at Marion County High School for two years because no students have chosen this elective subject. Yet these students live in a county divided physically, politically, and emotionally by issues of race, religion, and class, and in an era marked by high rates of divorce, substance abuse, and teenage parenthood.

Social Relations should be a multidisciplinary course of study that assists young people in the integration of material from the humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences. Human phenotype should be studied in terms of biological adaptation, historical events, and its impact on current political and economic realities. Belief systems should be studied in terms of their role in human physical and psychological adaptation as well as in the evolution of social systems. Human communities should be studied in terms of their contribution to the preservation of such values as personal responsibility, interdependency, and cooperation in a time when young people have come to expect the inevitability of nuclear war. And most of all, courses in social relations should teach young people about themselves, so that after thirteen years of schooling they will be not just smarter, but better human beings.

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IRREPARABLE HARM:
THE MANIPULATION OF SYMBOLS IN ONE SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION STRUGGLE

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School-community relations are governed by views of education that are held by a variety of people: students, parents, citizens, professionals, and even judges. On January 17, 1985, a judge in the Commonwealth of Kentucky 41st Judicial Circuit Court filed this Finding of Fact and Conclusion of Law.

> In light of the irreparable harm to the students of Hisel School the balancing of the interest of the parties herein dictates that Hisel School not be closed during the present school year. The Board will suffer less than the students of Hisel School by leaving that school in operation for the current school year, and the interest of the community, generally, will be better served (Court Finding, p.5).

This was but one of many attempts to define "irreparable harm" coming from the operation of formal education in Appalachia in the past two decades. In this paper, the discussion about the operation of Hisel School (in Jackson County, Kentucky) will be used as evidence for analysis of the debate on rural education in Appalachia and how it relates to school-community relationships.

Hisel School was opened in 1959 as a consolidated school to replace five one-room schools; it has four large rooms and is situated in the Hisel community. Students in the nearby area take a short bus ride to attend the school. It has two teachers, two teacher-aids, a cook, and a custodian. The enrollment now is 45 students in grades 1-8. This enrollment has declined from 77 students in 1973. That was the first year the state labeled the school an "interim center" and recommended its consolidation with a larger school, a 45-minute bus ride away.

In 1982, when the Board of Education was about to accept the county superintendent's recommendation to close the school, parents and community members organized a petition and public meetings to mobilize opinion to keep the school open. When the parents and community members promised to try to raise enrollments, and after they described a program of community work on the school and parent cooperation with the teachers, the superintendent did not go ahead with the recommendation to close the school. It was kept open on a year-to-year basis but still had the status of "interim school." From 1982 to 1984, the School-Community Steering Committee organized work days, painted the school with donated labor and paint, built a playground, and organized a library with donated books.

In 1984, after the start of the school year, the Superintendent recommended closing the school to be able to use the Hisel teachers elsewhere, and the Board voted 3-2 to accept this recommendation. The Hisel parents and community members, after all protests failed, hired a lawyer to take out a temporary restraining order stopping the closing. The resulting legal hearing led to an injunction preventing the school closing in mid-year. Also, the 1984 School Board election resulted in a Board majority of 3-2 in favor of keeping the school open. The 1986 Board election changed the composition of the Board, but the school was again kept open this year.

Public debate about the merits of this school includes of course class conflict, culture conflict, narrow self-interest exercised in the name of greater good, and even forms of trickery and dishonesty. But an interpretation of the manipulation of symbols in such a conflict alerts us to something important in school-community relations. It is what symbolic interactionists call "stock knowledge at hand," the social conceptions and frames of reference with which humans interpret the social conceptions and frames of reference with which humans interpret events. These are an implicit set of assumptions silently used as people interact. Scrutiny of the conflict about Hisel gives examples of what I will refer to as different types of consciousness, using four categories: Romantic-Traditional, Urban-Idealistic, Rational-Technocratic, and Democratic-Localist.

Evidence of a Romantic-Traditional consciousness is found in statements referring to modern Hisel School in terms of its bucolic rural setting and its imagined similarity to the one-room, frame school houses of long ago. This four-room school with central heating, running water, and telephone is depicted as a structure of a completely different type from the consolidated school. One television commentator in 1984 began his report by talking about "the small cement block school atop a gentle hill that harkens back to education of an earlier time." But this consolidated school is also of cement block construction on top of a gentle hill--it is simply much larger.

More commonly, these statements evoked a view of Hisel as the embodiment of an unassailable tradition. "When I went to school we had one teacher for all the pupils and we learned plenty" (letter to author). "The consolidated school will never be able to match the learning that went on in my old school" (letter to author). The focus on tradition was often summed up in the sentiment "old ways are best." The tradition argument was once used to defend the school remaining open when a person in an open meeting said that closing the school was "sort of like taking your grand-daddy out and putting him in a field (to die) and he's the last grand-daddy" (JCS Aug. 5, 1982).

The romantic view is evidenced in comments depicting the small rural school as a place where children in the past escaped from influences for social deviance, plus a belief that this will happen today as well. "[If they go to the large school,] I know they're going to get into dope." "They've just got more dope, more sorriness, going on there in [those] big schools" (JCS Aug. 5, 1982).

The Romantic-Traditional consciousness was most commonly evidenced in older citizens' comments and the tone of press reports from outside the county. A teacher, after saying, "We feel very strongly that our children can compete in basic quality of education," went on to dismiss a reporter's comment about characterization of the school as "romantic." "It's only romantic if you're on the outside looking in. If you're on the inside looking out, it is not romantic. It is darn hard work" (LHL Oct. 24, 1984).

A Romantic-Traditional consciousness was to some extent latent in the struggle for opinion. The superintendent in 1984 once said, "Tradition is the main reason people are objecting to the closing" (CJ Oct. 20, 1984). Tradition was never seriously advanced as an argument for keeping the school open, but it often did appear as a journalistic angle for the state news media, and it did seem to be behind some of the sympathy the school got from older Jackson County citizens.

Consciousness of tradition was useful, however, as a straw man for attack by persons supporting the closing of the school. **The Ashland Daily Independent** titled an editorial "Education should win over nostalgia." The editorial concluded, "It is not a time for becoming nostalgic over the closing of one of the few remaining two-room schools. It is a time for offering Hisle (sic) students a better education at a lower cost by moving them to another school" (LHL Nov. 12, 1984). These qualities of "better" and "lower cost" were used most frequently by people speaking from within the three other types of consciousness.

Another group of people making observations about the conflict over Hisel seemed to exhibit what I will call an Urban-Idealistic Consciousness. Such a construction of reality accepts urban forms of human association and urban institutions as synonymous with progress.

A belief in urban ways as better than rural ways, or the equating of urbanization with progress, has a long history in Appalachia. For formal education in Jackson County, there is an extensive tradition of seeing urban organization forms and artifacts in a positive light. In 1901, the county Superintendent of Education justified a management system that reduced representation of county citizens as an improvement because they now would "exercise the same powers as the boards of education in our cities" (Boyd, p.110). Another superintendent in 1917 proudly reported that his administration had improved things that year by furnishing "every school house in the county with patent desks" (Boyd, p.112). Equating urban schools solely with progress is certainly an extreme form of idealism, but today the practice continues.

In one form of Urban-Idealistic consciousness, urban sports equipment has replaced patent desks. A board member lamented the absence of an indoor basketball court by saying, "They are sitting over there and playing ball in a gravel or concrete pit....There's no sense in us sitting here as board members....letting children do it if we can find something better." There are "more opportunities" at the larger school. To clinch the argument, he said that if the small school was closed down, who knows, "we could get the finest ball player in the county" (JCS Oct. 11, 1984). Perhaps a basketball team's standing is an easy way to measure progress between counties; within this view of needed equipment, the small school is an obstacle to county progress. Parents also find the absence of an indoor gym a problem at times. One parent who lives near the Hisel school, who supported the school with labor but voluntarily sent his children to the consolidated school, said that his sons want to play basketball, little league, and gymnastics, which are available only there (JCS Aug. 5, 1982).

Another form of Urban-Idealistic consciousness sees the small rural school as an obstacle to progress in terms of the setting for education. Such a setting, it is said, leads to educational deprivation. A superintendent commenting on closing Hisel said, "Most of the rest of the world is not like Hisel...I think personally it's good for the kids to get a view of what the rest of the world is like" (JCS Oct. 20, 1984). A college student-teacher expressed her frustration one day this way: "But the students there don't even know what an escalator is!" (interview, Spring 1983). And one administrator in the central office passed this judgment on deprivation due to the setting: "When the students leave Hisel to attend high school, it's like New York City to them" (JCS Aug. 5, 1982).

An escalator simply as **technology** useful to move people physically up or down, basketball as only **one** of the many forms of organized recreation, and rural life as vastly **integrated** into the urban scene in this age of migration and urban-dominated television, are all points that seem to have escaped the consciousness of these people. The view of the small, rural school as an obstacle to individual and school system progress was most often adopted by people who had an urban orientation in their work and aspirations.

When the school Board in 1982 brought up declining enrollment as a reason to close the school, Hisel residents claimed that the enrollment had declined because the school was "financially neglected over the years," thus some parents chose to send children elsewhere where better facilities (e.g., a gym) were provided (JCS Aug. 5, 1982). Others said that enrollment declined because of the nature of the teaching; at times a small rural school is used as a "punishment school" (interview, 1982). Teachers in the past had been sent to this setting as a penalty. These same people argued that a small school, however, could be better than a larger one, since it could allow holistic education; in this view, Hisel was "better" as a setting.

Katz has referred to advocates of educational means and ends associated with rural education in the last century as "democratic localists" (Katz, passim).

I use this term to characterize the next form of consciousness. A Democratic-Localist consciousness is evidenced in statements about the opportunity a small local setting provides for school flexibility and for the education of students not as grade-getters but as persons.

Family is often a metaphor for this. As a Hisel teacher said, "I know these children better than my own, I've spent more time with them...At the end of the school year I write down the page number they're on, and the next fall we start exactly where we left off. That's a big advantage...There are shared life experiences when you work with people this closely--it's like what you have with a family" (LHL Oct. 24, 1984). A pupil of another ungraded elementary school put the sentiment this way in response to a National Public Radio reporter's question about what grade he was in: "I'm in 4th grade Math and 6th grade Reading...it's like a normal family, people are different in different things."

A Democratic-Localist consciousness is expressed also in the form of seeing Hisel school as an educational innovation for students in need of different treatment. One person made a claim for innovation saying that Hisel school met a need for children from lower income families. Thus, for the children who go to Hisel school, smaller is better. "The kinds that come here are from backgrounds where they are from the bottom 10th percentile...They're learning to stay in school because it's a pleasant place to be and [their parents act like] it's an important place to be" (CJ Oct. 20, 1984).

The same person, a college professor in the Department of Education in a nearby institution, responded to an editorial claiming people opposed the closing out of nostalgia. He remarked that Hisel school deserved strong support because it "offers an excellent program for the needs of its students." The distant larger facility "offers no improvement in the most essential aspects of school, but it does render parent involvement more difficult" (LHL Nov. 20, 1984). This argument claims that what children need most of all is to know that adults think that schools are a significant and important part of growing up. Hisel school had this direct parent involvement in the work days and the long struggle to keep it open.

The Chairman of the Appalachian Studies Conference in 1984 wrote a letter to the editor of a state paper claiming that for low-income rural children the loss of small schools has been "disastrous." He said "many of our best educational theorists" now question the efficacy of school consolidation and they suggest that what children need most of all is a happy environment for learning. He asked what better place there could be for remote, rural children to seek an introduction to the world of learning than a school in their own community. An then he concluded, "The Hisel parents, it seems, already know what our educational research is leading us to" (CJ Nov. 12, 1984).

Another aspect of localist consciousness stressed what would be lost for the students with the closing of the school. An exceptionally articulate parent who moved to Hisel from Ohio and who had been an educator in the past expressed the view by pointing out that small classes would be replaced by larger ones, and a short bus ride, by a longer one; and "recreation where boys and girls of all ages and grades enter into various games and activities of their choice" would be replaced by more narrow age and sexual groupings plus after-school team sports that are only an option for children living near the school or those who can be privately driven home. A lunchroom at Hisel where the children eat family-style, seven or eight to a table, individually served by the cook, would be replaced by cafeteria-style eating with children in food lines eating at long tables running the length of the room (JCS Oct. 31, 1984).

Most frequently expressing this Democratic-Localist consciousness were parents of Hisel school children, some Hisel teachers and other teachers in the county, some community members, and some academics viewing the struggle from outside. Their localism perhaps blinded them to the possibility of tyranny in the setting of a small school where a few unsupervised teachers might reign supreme. Their focus on democratic control (i.e., community involvement alongside the professional teacher) perhaps caused them to see only dimly the possibility of narrow interests ruling school affairs rather than broader views of curriculum and pedagogy. But most certainly their stress on flexibility, the advantages of smallness, and even the family nature of the dining arrangements did nothing to alert them to the strongly suggested irrationality of delivering educational services in the manner of Hisel school. For small is technically inefficient and thus irrational, from the Rational-Technocratic outlook.

Among many others, the sociologist Jurgen Habermas has written of our Industrial Society's emphasis upon "instrumental reason." From this logical stance, science is used to realize specific goals of efficiency, then the power of the state uses such a criterion to reconcile competing goals of groups, and finally basic cultural values themselves are also assessed and evaluated in terms of efficiency and rationality (Turner, p.195). Another aspect of this logic has been described by Ivan Illich as the discounting of use-value, replacing it with market value calculations; the result is action that ignores volunteer services while stressing costs of purchased services (Illich, p.29). There is plenty of evidence that instrumental reason within the Rational-Technocratic arguments had an influence on the debate about Hisel School.

Lower dollar costs are constantly being used to justify the closing of the school. In 1982 a superintendent pointed out that bussing the children further and transferring the teachers to more crowded schools would save on heating, water, and electricity (JCS Aug. 5, 1982). Since busses were already plying the route with high school students, plus some elementary pupils from more urban-oriented families, there would be no added transportation costs. Again in 1984 a different superintendent put the case boldly. "Educationally you can argue it both ways, (but) the trend is toward (consolidation). That doesn't mean it's right, (but) financially it's more efficient" (CJ Oct.20, 1984).

Rationality was frequently used as a justification for the closing. In 1982 the superintendent said her feelings could best be described as "the mind wrassling with the heart," in as much as she appreciated the atmosphere of the school but also considered the cost (JCS Aug.5, 1982). Another superintendent in 1984 said, "I have the greatest sympathy for [the parents'] situation. But it's one of those things that I have to do. I don't see any reasonable way around it" (CJ Oct. 20, 1984). In a different interview he was quoted as saying "It sounds like the big bad wolf is devouring the little school....But this is real life--the realities of financing education" (LHL Oct. 24, 1984).

Even the very technology supporting the distribution of food was invoked as an argument for closing the school. Members of the committee to improve the school were told of a negative evaluation made by a federal food commodity inspector in September 1984. Food storage in other than a walk-in cooler and the absence of a vent over the stove were among the reasons cited for the school not being in compliance with federal regulations for participation in the school lunch program (Steering Committee notes, Sept. 17, 1984). In the state press, the superintendent pointed to a further requirement of technology related to food handling. "The cafeteria is one of the problems with the school. Federal regulations require that, for health purposes, meals be prepared in a separate room from where children eat...." (LHL Oct.24, 1984).

Finally, support for a Rational-Technical consciousness is directly linked with the educational policy of the state Department of Education. The professional educators who are civil servants monitoring and advising the county school system first listed Hisel Elementary as an "interim center," recommending consolidation in their School Facility Survey of June 1973. The same recommendation was made in the 1977 Facility Survey and the 1982 Accreditation Survey Report. For the past fourteen years, this school has never fit into their view of "facility planning" for Jackson County.

In September of 1984, the State Board of Education passed a regulation to enforce the new law reducing maximum class size to 25 for grades 1-3 and 27 for grades 4-12. The Hisel parents, knowing that their school had a smaller class size than the maximum (about 24 per teacher), believed that this new regulation would work to support keeping the school open. But that was not the case. From a Rational-Technocratic perspective, this made closing Hisel even more rational. In the entire county school system, eleven classes were now deemed overcrowded, so closing Hisel's classes that did not exceed the maximum would allow the addition of the two teachers elsewhere, thus reducing class size in the southern part of the county (JCS Oct. 11, 1984). By a vote of 3-2, the school board voted to accept the superintendent's recommendation to act.

After the outcry from Hisel, and the state-wide attention to the issue, the county superintendent asked the Superintendent of Public Instruction to comment on this method of ensuring small class size through the closing of small classes rather than hiring more teachers. She responded this way in a letter published in the county newspaper:

> Our review of this situation has been an effort to be of assistance to you and your Board as well as the citizens of the Hisel community. While I am sympathetic to the concerns of the citizens in the Hisel community, I believe you have been fair and reasonable in dealing with this difficult situation. I have no additional alternatives to offer at this time (JCS Oct.31, 1984).

Proponents of this Rational-Technocratic consciousness were most frequently administrators of schools as systems, as well as managers of state and federal programs. At times it seemed that people holding this construction of reality might be blinded to the educational benefits others found in the Hisel School operation. But this was not the case at all times. In the 1984 court hearing when the parents had asked the judge for a temporary injunction to keep the Board from closing the school, the Board had defended its plans by arguing that Hisel was too good a school! As the Board lawyer said in an interview, "The system can't afford the privilege of keeping the community school open. We know Hisel is a good school." (CJ Nov. 24, 1984). The legal memorandum filed by the defendants (i.e., the Board of Education), which sums up evidence taken during the hearing that they believe to be in their favor, put it this way:

> [The superintendent] acknowledged that the students at Hisel were getting a good education, that the teachers were excellent teachers, and that the school has a low pupil-teacher ratio. In fact, the pupil-teacher ratio at Hisel School was lower than the system could afford. He acknowledged that there would be some detrimental effect on some of the students by the closing of Hisel, but that the beneficial effect of the closing on the school system as a whole was greater than the detrimental effect on the few students (Defendant's [Board of Education] Memorandum, p.16).

The court at that time found in favor of the parents preventing the school from being closed for the rest of that academic year. The court did not challenge the logic behind the Board's view of education. The plaintiffs won because they convinced the judge that other methods of getting the needed money or teachers could be found that were less harmful to Hisel pupils than the one requiring they change schools in the middle of the year.

In conclusion, the Hisel example makes it clear that people working to reform education in Appalachia must take ferences. School-community relationships are also profoundly influenced by different frames of reference that take the form of types of consciousness. Reformers must deal with these, and they must be aware that Rational-Technocratic consciousness is the most powerful; it is both the most taken-for-granted and the one advanced with the authority of the state and the profession fully behind it.

This type of consciousness sees as "fair" and "reasonable" what others see as cruel irony. Examples of this irony are open for all to see. When the legislature ordered smaller class sizes, the school in the county with the smaller sizes is closed to send the teachers elsewhere. When the State Superintendent of Instruction is starting to promote parental involvement, the place with parents involved in the maintenance of the building and the organization of a library, rather than basketball and band boosting, is closed. And, at a time when low-income mountain people are being disparaged for having little interest or stake in their children's education, a place where people sacrificed personal time, money, and effort couldn't get the message out because the school that was the object of their effort was seen as a symbol of romantic tradition, an obstacle to urban ways, and an inefficient privilege they did not merit.

* * *

This example of the clash of symbols makes it clear that school reform in Appalachia requires more than organizational skills for political mobilization. It needs a refined awareness of levels of meaning for the mobilization of rhetoric about damages to formal education coming from the operation of the actual process of formal education.♦

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MAKING DOLLARS BY MAKING SENSE
LINKING RURAL EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN APPALACHIA

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The idea that education is connected to economic development has become one of the cornerstones of the educational reform movement in the 1980s.

This is a different rationale for making education a societal priority than the one espoused in the late 1950s and 1960s during the last big push for school improvement. At that time, the launch of Sputnik, the Cuban missile crisis and the undeniable emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower startled America's leaders into action on the educational front. The desire to "keep up with the Russians," militarily and technologically, gave rise to a heightened emphasis on science instruction, the "new math" and such major federal legislation as the National Defense Education Act.

In the public arena, economic development was not seen as a primary mission (or key consequence) of educational improvement. America was the unchallenged economic leader of the world, and "made in Japan" still carried the derogatory implication of being cheap junk.

How times have changed! Here we are only a generation later: the world's biggest debtor nation and struggling hard this time to "keep up with the Japanese," economically. Accordingly, our leaders are more interested in schooling as a tool of international economic competition than as a means of national military defense.

The rhetoric about strengthening the economy by strengthening education is flowing hot and heavy across our nation. Hardly a month passes without a new "blue ribbon commission," "prestigious task force" or "prominent leader" exhorting us to get off our behinds and begin making connections between education and the economy.

What is this rhetoric all about? What has it got to do with the day to day realities of Appalachia's schools and communities? How can we make sense of the "newfangled" idea that all our schools are supposed to become powerful engines of economic competitiveness?

The first thing to understand is that much of this rhetoric is nothing more than the heavy breathing of some weighty groups chasing the latest bandwagon. To the extent that corporate leaders can blame the education sector for our nation's economic woes, they can divert attention away their own short-sightedness, greed and poor management. Even better, they often are able to accomplish this sleight of hand while enhancing their image as caring citizens concerned about the welfare of our nation's young people. Whatever the motivation, some of the measures advocated by the corporate sector have a hard time holding up under even mild scrutiny.

After all, it's very hard to figure out how requiring every student to pass a calculus class in order to graduate from high school will reduce America's trade imbalance. Are we to believe that America would regain a bigger piece of the world economic pie, if only more of us could remember how to calculate "pi"? Similarly, the connections between increasing science instruction and reducing the federal deficit are obscure at best. Blaming the schools for the state of our economy is a lot like blaming the folks on Sesame Street for what's been happening on Wall Street.

Given the amount of "school-bashing" that has accompanied this new call for reform, why have so many prominent educators been willing to jump on the bandwagon? One reason is that they (shrewdly and correctly) surmised that the outcome would be a great deal of new money (as well as power and, ironically, prestige) flowing into their own hands.

Besides, educators are quite accustomed, and almost indifferent, to harsh criticism. Like a shock resistant watch, we educators are remarkably able to "take a licking and keep on ticking"! Moreover, educational administrators and policymakers have a long, consistent history of being highly deferential to corporate leaders. Whether out of respect, fear, insecurity, or a desire to be seen as their public sector peers, the fact remains that the major trend in twentieth century educational **leadership** has been to **follow** the perceived direction of private industry.

The second thing to understand about linking education and the economy is that the basic idea here is anything but new. The rhetoric may have changed slightly. However, Americans have long thought about education in instrumental terms. A love of poetic expression, a respect for purely abstract pursuits and a belief in the intrinsic worth of learning have never been the primary motivations for the enormous "investment" our nation has made in public schooling. Rather, we have "invested" in education because of our faith that it, like any good investment, would yield substantial financial returns.

Of course, our faith has been largely justified. For millions of people, in generation after generation, education has been one of the keys to individual economic progress and to societal prosperity. It is trite but true to observe that a well-prepared workforce (however defined) will be more productive and innovative than an illiterate, unskilled, undereducated workforce.

What has been poorly understood (or, at least, little discussed) are the complexities of the wide range of connections existing between education and economic development. Many of the current schemes reflect a pretty simplistic view of what these connections are all about and how to make them stronger.

Basically, we can see three major thrusts underway. One is to prepare better "job applicants," that is, graduates with the technical, behavioral, and communication skills necessary to move into available entry level jobs. Another is to produce "better educated graduates" who have the "basic skills," plus the technological sophistication, necessary to be trainable and retrainable on the job (or at the post-secondary level). And finally, for those from professional/managerial families or with professional/managerial aspirations, the thrust has been to provide a more challenging college preparatory curriculum.

One of the common threads running through all three of the current thrusts is an emphasis on the individual. Schools are seen as important, in economic terms, to the extent that they prepare individuals to participate productively in the larger economy after they have left school. As will be discussed later, the role of schools as institutional forces in the economic development process remains largely undefined.

Where will these major thrusts in school reform take us? Certainly, they will be useful to the students willing and able to cope successfully with the expanded demands placed upon their shoulders. In turn, these "better" graduates probably will be equipped to make more than productive contributions to the economy than might otherwise be the case.

However, it is worth remembering that there also is a downside here. For example, by raising "academic standards" without improving either the attractiveness or the holding power of schools, the likelihood is that the dropout rate will significantly increase in the years ahead. Appalachian students who already are unsuccessful, bored or mistreated in school, or who have families needing their income, or who have babies of their own, won't stick around to graduate because German 2 will soon be available, or because they now have to complete an even greater number of more difficult courses in order to graduate.

Ironically, a general policy designed to promote economic growth actually may end up exacerbating current economic problems in specific places like Appalachia. To the extent that we produce more dropouts, we will make matters worse. After all, we know that dropouts are the most economically marginal (and vulnerable) population. Aside from curtailing the life chances of these young people, creating more dropouts will place an anchor around the neck of local and regional economies already finding it difficult to stay afloat.

This is not the first instance of there being a negative connection between education and economic development in Appalachia. Think, for example, of the ways in which Appalachian youth, especially low-income students, have been socialized in our schools. To an unfortunate degree, the negative self-images, low self-esteem and fatalism these children sometimes brought with them from home have been reinforced by their schooling.

All too often, Appalachian children have been taught to be passive and highly deferential to any authority. They were trained to be docile followers far more often than they were assisted to develop into leaders, or even into active citizens. They often were not treated as if they were especially bright, nor as if they could expect very bright futures. In an attempt to be "realistic," Appalachian youths were encouraged away from whatever professional, managerial and entrepreneurial aspirations they may have had, while pointed instead toward of a variety of more modest working class occupations. In short, they were taught **how to fit into** a depressed, and often exploitative, local economy, rather than being taught how to improve the economy, or receive a better deal within it.

That's not a very helpful strategy for promoting genuine rural development. If rural children grow up believing that they're not important, that where they come from is not valued and that the "good life" is to be found elsewhere, how could we expect to have the attitudinal base necessary to spark a rural rejuvenation effort?

Another negative connection between education and economic development in Appalachia can be seen in the structure of the region's property assessment and tax systems. There is a legacy across Appalachia of low property taxes, and thus, of inadequate financial support for schools dependent upon these local taxes.

As documented in extraordinary detail by the Appalachian Alliance and the Highlander Center in their now-classic land ownership study, this "revenue shortfall" is the result of the largest and wealthiest owners (most of whom are either absentee owners or corporations) being granted ridiculous concessions allowing them to avoid paying anything resembling a fair share of the tax burden. "Ordinary" Appalachian schools and "ordinary" Appalachian children have been denied the educational resources they needed, and had every right to expect, from local property taxes, so that the already rich and powerful landholders could be "spared the burden" of paying their fair share of the tax bill.

Appalachia already has a long, but sorry, history of education and economic development being intimately connected. When young people here are effectively excluded from the region's good jobs because they are high school dropouts or "pushouts," then one can see the powerful connection between education and economic development. When students are socialized to accept low aspirations, low self-esteem and low wages as being "good enough for people like them," then one can see the powerful connection between education and economic development. When the school curriculum (implicitly and explicitly) teaches young Appalachians to believe in the self-fulfilling negative prophecy that the rural decline is inevitable, and thus, community revitalization is nothing more than a pipedream, then one can see the powerful connection between education and economic development. And finally, when Appalachian schools and children are routinely shortchanged as the price of corporate extraction of the region's wealth, then one can see the powerful connection between education and economic development.

Given this legacy of historic "connections" that politicians and educational reformers never seem to mention, is it any wonder that some folks are less than enthusiastic at the prospect of making such linkages even tighter? Clearly, this pattern is not good enough. It is not what Appalachian children deserve. It is not the best we can do.

So, what are the alternatives? Should we sever all connections between education and economic development? Throw all the bastards out and start again from scratch? Create a network of alternative, private schools? None of these are real alternatives, and the idea of severing the connection is just plain impossible, no matter what we do. The fact of the matter is that education and economic development are inherently and inextricably linked.

The real issue is not whether there will be a linkage here, nor even how close this connection should be. The only real issue is who will be the primary beneficiaries of these inevitable connections.

If we say our goal is to benefit rural Appalachian children and rural Appalachian communities first and foremost (instead of last and least), then what could, and should, we do?

The first answer is to reverse the negative traditions we continue to perpetuate even today. We need to stem the flood of school dropouts, not through a public relations campaign to convince students that staying in school won't be as negative an experience as they anticipate, but rather by really changing the school's program and environment in ways that better serve the majority of Appalachian students who are not responding well to current methods and curricula.

We need to bolster the self-esteem of all students, and to help them develop in ways that foster pride in who they are and where they come from. We need to help young people not only believe in a bright future for themselves and their community, but also acquire the experience, understanding and skills they must have to make that bright future a reality. And, of course, we need a fair system of collecting and distributing tax revenues, at both the school district and state levels, so that the schools finally have a reasonable financial base upon which to build.

Is there any hope of achieving these goals? The resounding answer is "YES." The keys are to begin seeing and treating:

- the school as an agency of rural development;
- the community as the foundation of the school's curriculum; and
- the students and teachers as both active learners and active citizens.

The idea here is not to burden students, teachers and school administrators with yet another set of demands that will divert them from their fundamental educational mission. Rather, the proposal is to make the school and community genuine partners in their mutual revitalization.

What can schools bring to this partnership? How can they serve as effective agencies of rural development? After all, it is very rare for an Appalachian school to have any teachers or administrators who are economic experts.

And yet, upon further reflection, it becomes clear that our educational institutions represent a previously overlooked and undervalued resource for rural development. In fact, schools have great potential to enhance the process of community revitalization. Given this reality, doesn't it follow that they have both a right and a responsibility to develop their potential?

Think, for example, about the following development-related resources associated with even modestly-endowed schools in all parts of Appalachia:

1. **Facilities** -- Schools are a significant physical presence and a major "public infrastructure" investment. In many rural communities, they are the only public space. Schools can serve as a meeting place and a community center where a wide variety of groups can come together to work and play. They also can serve as institutions that can "incubate" a host of rural development initiatives from cottage industries to community celebrations, and from a local newspaper to a child care center.

2. **Materials and Equipment** -- With their fleets of school buses, vans, driver's education cars and other vehicles, schools could become the backbone of a badly-needed rural public transportation system. The school's computers, duplicating equipment, machinery, library, and other physical resources also could be used by (or in support of) numerous community groups and agencies.

3. **Purchasing Power** -- School systems spend a relatively large amount of money on items other than salaries and fringe benefits. In most rural communities, they have the potential to be the largest local buyer of such things as office supplies, furniture, books, electrical equipment and materials, food, plastic and paper products, fuel, and various services from construction to screen printing. Schools could choose to support their own economy by buying locally whenever possible. They also could use this purchasing power to help initiate, expand and sustain a variety of local enterprises (including those launched by rural students).

4. **Payroll Power** -- In many rural communities, the school system is the largest, and best paying, employer around. Although the downside here can be seen in the "patronage" abuses common in some areas of Appalachia, there is no denying the positive economic impact of all those salary dollars circulating around the local and regional economy. For instance, many Appalachian farms and small businesses have been able to stay afloat because a family member receives a regular paycheck by working at the school.

5. **Financial Capacity** -- Rural schools have the potential to tap a variety of state, federal and private foundation funding sources unavailable to rural economic development groups. For instance, there are tens of millions of vocational education dollars poured into Appalachian schools every year that could be "redirected" toward more economically-relevant activities (such as entrepreneurship).

In addition, schools have the capacity to issue bonds in order to finance their capital requirements. If a school district can float a bond to build a multi-million dollar vocational education center, why couldn't they use this method to underwrite the costs of a school-based small business incubator?

6. **Political Identity** -- In many rural communities, the local school (especially if it has not been consolidated recently), is the one remaining public institution in which people feel they have a common stake. In fact, the school sometimes defines the informal boundaries of the larger community, while providing a sense of local identity. This special status of rural schools, along with their basic credibility, could allow them to play a catalytic role in rallying the whole community around rural development initiatives.

7. **Courses** -- From teaching accounting courses to local business people, to directing student research and analyses of the local economy, Appalachian schools could choose to redirect their curricula in ways fostering an economic rejuvenation of their communities. Equally important, they could teach courses to young people and adults alike dealing with the meanings

and possible directions of "development" in the context of their own local area and region. Such courses might help inspire confidence and hope about the area's future, instead of acquiescing to the fatalism and negativity that so often characterize Appalachian attitudes toward the future.

8. **School Staff** -- Particularly in relatively poor and isolated Appalachian communities, the school's staff represents the greatest concentration of well-educated people in the area. This impressive pool of skills, talents, experience, training and professional/business contacts is present at the school every day, but it is only rarely tapped by the community as a key human resource for rural economic development. If these staff talents were "unleashed," as an integral part of their official duties, in conjunction with community efforts and revitalization projects, then there is a good chance that both education and the economy would be improved as a result.

9. **Students** -- Last, but far from least, schools contain an amazing resource: that is, the energy, idealism, creativity and talents of our young people. Properly encouraged, instructed and guided, Appalachian students could make major contributions to the betterment of their own communities. This has been demonstrated (albeit sporadically) over the years in a variety of efforts from vocational agriculture/4H, to "youth service" activities, to the Foxfire program.

Many students would leap at the chance to escape the confines of the classroom and to engage in "real work" as young adults willing and able to make a difference in the "real world." Many communities need the spark these youths could provide. Such activities have long term payoffs, ranging from motivating students to stay and succeed in school, to re-instilling their faith in the strengths, values and prospects of their own hometowns.

Appalachian schools could be a terrific resource, not only for students as they strive to reach their highest individual potential, but also for communities as they strive to reach their highest collective potential. They could be such a resource, but all too often they are not.

What we are sorely lacking at the moment is a vision of rural education and development worthy of the name. There has been a serious failure of imagination in this regard. We have an opportunity unprecedented in our history for Appalachian schools and communities to be strong and vital. However, that opportunity is slipping away from us, largely because of our seeming inability to even conceive of what an excellent **rural** education or a vibrant, non-exploitative **rural** economy might be like.

There are at least a couple of directions in which we might turn for that vision. Instead of being embarrassed about our rurality and our Appalachian identity, we should embrace them. Instead of educators and development specialists treating local people as clients, we all ought to act as full and equal partners in the revitalization process. Instead of passively acquiescing to a standardized, metropolitan-oriented model of education, we should derive our curricula and our teaching methods from the realities of the rural communities in which our students are growing up. Instead of being incidental, we need to make the local community and the Appalachian region the foundation of our schools' curricula.

It is astonishing that as our "post-industrial" society enters into the "information age," so many educational and political leaders still believe it is necessary to put children on buses for long periods each day so they can attend school at a "central location" in order to receive an adequate education. It is worth remembering that the traditional high school classroom with a specialist teacher lecturing passive students during fifty minute lesson segments is not the only way (nor even the best way for many students) to learn what is necessary to become productive adults and competent citizens. Why transport children long distances to where we have stored the resources, when it is fully within our technological capability to bring a vast array of educational resources directly to them?

We could choose to combine advanced technologies with a re-establishment of meaningful school-community bonds. This merger of high tech instruction and community-based learning could yield powerful results. We could create a new kind of rural education that took full advantage of its rurality, while simultaneously tapping the best external resources available. The basic idea is to select the best features of each existing unit in order to create a stronger, more vital "hybrid."

Although our actual knowledge of, and experience with, advanced educational technologies is embryonic, our technological vision probably still exceeds our vision of rural community-based learning. Two brief examples, one from an elementary school and one from a high school, might illustrate how the ancient rural tradition of locally-relevant education might be revived in a manner consistent with the demands and opportunities present in Appalachia today.

Faith Dunne tells about a rural elementary school teacher who decided to use her community as the focal point of the curriculum. This teacher had a multigrade classroom, but the children all shared a fascination with dinosaurs. The area was one that happened to be rich in fossils, so she decided to take advantage of this combination of student interests and local resources. She put aside her "normal" lesson plans and devoted the year to the dinosaur project.

Her students went out on "digs," learned to excavate and identify fossils, and called upon the "expertise" of local people. For math, the kids weighed, measured, added, subtracted and otherwise used the bones and artifacts they had uncovered. For art, they drew pictures and made models of dinosaurs. For language, they read books about prehistoric life, wrote dinosaur-inspired poems and stories, and learned how to spell a range of difficult words related to this theme. For science, they conducted experiments related to their project and made good use of the remarkable natural laboratory to be found in the community around them.

The point is that she saw her community not in terms of it lacked, but rather in terms of what it had. She found a variety of creative ways to build upon the community's resources and make them educational. This ability to transform the community into an educational resource is rarely encouraged among teachers today. The rise of standardization, the development of "teacher proof curricula," and the pressure to "cover" a certain body of material (or number of pages) by a specified date all have had the unfortunate effect of discouraging and devaluing locally-generated, community-based educational programs.

And yet, as this teacher demonstrated, locally-relevant education need not be second rate. In fact, community-based learning can be as sure a path to educational excellence as any other one known. Moreover, it can have a profound effect on the long-term development of the local community. The children participating in the dinosaur project couldn't help thinking of their community as a fascinating, worthwhile, and important place. This, in turn, creates the kind of positive attitudes required to achieve (or even seek) genuine rural development.

A more direct example of making a positive, appropriate linkage between rural education and rural development can be found in the story of St. Pauls High School. It is a good example of one of those "Only in America!" tales. After all, where else but in America would one find a Methodist minister helping a tri-racial group of rural high school students to create a New York-style Jewish Delicatessen right in their very own hometown?

Unlikely as it may seem, the Way Off

Broadway Delicatessen, located at the St. Pauls, North Carolina exit from Interstate-95, did open its doors for business in 1987. Their fine deli sandwiches and frozen yogurt quickly made them popular among local residents and interstate travelers alike. The deli is decorated with the Broadway theme in mind, from the showtunes playing in the restaurant to authentic theatrical posters on the walls.

The fourteen young people who are the paid worker-owners of this cooperative enterprise are learning while they're earning. They have hired an experienced adult manager to provide on-the-job management training. They also take entrepreneurship-related courses for regular academic credit at St. Pauls High School.

With the active assistance of their superintendent, good teachers, and a very supportive community, these students certainly have every chance of long-term success as rural entrepreneurs.

The excitement in St. Pauls is a direct result of a program being pioneered by the University of North Carolina's Small Business and Technology Development Center. The program for rural school-based enterprise has four primary goals: 1) to help rural schools become effective small business incubators; 2) to help participants develop competence in entrepreneurship and business management; 3) to help create good new jobs through finding and exploiting untapped opportunities in the local economy; and 4) to help foster economic literacy and a sense of empowerment.

The basic idea of the rural school-based enterprise program is simple. Rural students research, plan, set up, operate, and own economically viable small businesses in cooperation with local educational institutions. The program contains both a classroom component and an experiential component. As in St. Pauls, the businesses created are neither simulations nor short term educational exercises.

Rather, they are intended to be businesses that will become an ongoing part of the community's economic and employment base. After starting as part of a high school or community college, these enterprises are scheduled to be spun-off by the students who founded them and operated as regular commercial entities within a three-year period.

The rural school-based enterprise program operates as a joint venture of the Small Business and Technology Development Center and North Carolina REAL Enterprises (a non-profit organization). The SBTDC is responsible for all the operational aspects of this program, including training, technical assistance and management support. And North Carolina REAL Enterprises was created to perform the one function that lies beyond the mandate of the SBTDC: to provide a portion of the start-up loans and investments needed to capitalize the rural school-based businesses created.

This program is still in its early stages and there continue to be lots of "bugs" that need to be worked out. It is a difficult program to implement properly. As the program is tested and refined, it doubtless will change.

However, for all the questions that remain about this effort, the basic point is that the rural school-based enterprise program does try to make a connection between education and economic development that benefits local individuals and communities first and foremost. It does try to help schools take a first step in the direction of becoming an agency of rural development. It does try to build an educational program upon the foundation of the local community. And, it does try to encourage and assist teachers and students alike to become active learners and active citizens.

This program is not a panacea for all the ills besetting Appalachian education today. It certainly is not THE ANSWER for all rural schools. Rather, for most people, its importance lies in the glimpse it offers of what a rural vision of education and development might produce. Without a doubt, the principles embodied here could be translated into other, at least equally valuable, strategies for making the inevitable connections between education and economic development truly beneficial ones for Appalachian students and communities.

In conclusion, it must be noted that Appalachia's legacy of negative linkages between the schools and the economy will neither be eliminated overnight, nor will a more positive set of connections be created without a struggle. However, this struggle is both worthwhile and winnable.

The struggle begins with the **faith** that Appalachia's schools and communities have enormous untapped potential, educationally and economically. This faith must then be translated into a coherent and persuasive **vision** of the educational reforms and economic "developments" that will have the greatest positive impact. Next, this vision must be articulated through the creation of a strong and united rural **voice** speaking on behalf of the interests of "ordinary" Appalachians and their children. And finally, this voice must be made real through the achievement of tangible **victories** (however modest) in our schools and in our communities.

Such struggles succeed only when "ordinary" people -- educators, parents, workers, small business owners, and community leaders -- come together to stride one step at a time toward extraordinary goals. Thus, the real question at this conference is: "What will you do when you return home?"

What will **you** do to foster educational excellence and an economic renaissance across Appalachia? What **will** you do to create the vision, the voice and the victories needed to give substance to the dreams of a better Appalachia? What will you **do**? That is the question and the challenge before all of us today.♦

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THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN APPALACHIA

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We at Ashland Oil are greatly interested in quality education, especially where we have facilities and employees, and for obvious reasons. Education is the base for better jobs, more skilled technicians, industrial expansion, and global competition. But we won't have that sound system without planning and work. If we are able to progress economically, we must progress educationally.

There is a direct correlation between educational attainment and economic attainment. The connection becomes clear when you see how Kentucky ranks nationally on various educational and economic measures:

- 50th in the number of adults with more than an eighth grade education;
- 49th in the number of people with four or more years of college;
- 39th in the number of high school freshmen who complete high school;
- 11th in the percentage of its population in poverty;
- 17th in welfare recipients as a percent of the population.

We must face the facts. Better educated people earn better wages. They pay more taxes and have more disposable income. As a result, they stimulate economic development within their communities. It is also a fact that business and industry are attracted to states and communities with strong educational systems.

A commitment to education has stimulated our nation's growth and prosperity for more than 200 years. The never-ending desire to find out how things work and to share this knowledge has made the United States one of the most innovative and technologically advanced countries in the world.

It used to be that Ashland Oil and other companies competed only within the borders of this country; but now, the global economy is a reality, and we compete with foreign companies supported by successful educational systems. For decades, many people were able to find jobs in the mines or in factories and make a decent living on which to raise their families -- and they didn't need a high school diploma to do it; this no longer is true. It used to be that a young person without much education could get an entry level job; now, high tech has come to the factory, the office, and even the grocery store, and now these jobs require more education, more training.

In the past, as corporate America recognized the shortage of skilled workers, we complained about what we thought were weaknesses in education. But we didn't take the initiative to solve the problem. It is clear that the business community as a whole now must be part of the solution.

I'll have to say that Ashland Oil has supported quality education for more than 60 years. That support has included direct financial contributions to all educational levels, from elementary and secondary schools to colleges and universities. As you may be aware, Ashland Oil began in 1983 devoting its corporate regional advertising dollars to increase public awareness of the need to improve educational quality. You can believe that when Ashland Oil, a Fortune 500 company, makes this kind of commitment, there is good reason for it.

First of all, supporting education is just good business. Quality educational systems ensure a future source of well-trained, highly-skilled prospective employees. Ashland's founder, Paul G. Blazer, recognized the importance of well-educated people to the nation and to industry. And he spoke often of the interdependence of business and education. "Industry looks to education to bring to our young people a sympathetic knowledge of the fundamental workings of competitive free enterprise," he said. Blazer's vision was an accurate one, and corporations today realize that the future of education and the future of our economy will rest on more than textbook skills. The future rests on skills like knowing how to think and reason, how to apply what is learned, how to solve problems.

To help students be successful, today's schools must also teach them to be innovative and prepare them to face the challenge of change. Students must understand that change will occur, and they must be prepared socially, emotionally, and intellectually to cope. They must understand that the one constant factor in their lives will be change.

The degree to which we now are changing has never been greater. Even a surface glance back shows how we have changed technically just since the turn of the century, with medicine and other sciences, with automobiles and trains and space shuttles. With new procedures come new problems to solve, and the situation is self-perpetuating.

Today the world is changing so rapidly that some experts believe workers will need to be retained six to 10 times during their working lives. Listen to these examples and imagine the new skills required. It took about 20 years for the hand-held calculator to replace the slide rule in engineering classes. It took about five years for the calculator to get small enough to fit on a business card. Thirty years ago, a computer with limited capability would fill this room. Two or three years ago, a machine with more capability would fit on a desk. Today you could carry it home in a briefcase. Thirty years ago, it would take days to send a on-page memo across country by mail. Five years ago, it could go by telecopy in minutes. Today, it moves instantly by computer.

As we work to improve education, let us not forget the long-range effect of improvement, of adapting to change, and of the impact education will have on our economy. If our educational attainment decreases, there will be fewer jobs, higher unemployment, less in tax monies, a depressed economy, lower morale, higher crime, ...and the chain continues negatively. If our educational attainment increases, we will see personal growth, industrial and corporate expansion, improved economy, higher morale, and proud, knowledgeable, successful citizens. The cycle of success, of economic progress, of educational achievement is one we cannot afford to break.♦

EDUCATION IN THE STRATEGY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW AND AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Prologue

This is not a thoroughly-documented research paper, but it develops some ideas which have grown out of a long series of research studies which we have done. We use data mainly to illustrate our ideas. Obviously, we think that they are important ideas. If they are correct, they would mean that we should be looking at the problem of education in Appalachia from quite a different perspective than the ones usually expressed in the political debates over more state and federal assistance to education, the return to educational fundamentalism, and so forth. But we warn our audience that these are not fully-tested ideas. We have developed them because it appears that the traditional ones have not worked to define feasible solutions to the problem of developing the human resources of the region. These ideas will be the subject of some research by a small group of faculty and graduate students in the next few years. But you who live and work in Appalachia or in other regions of similar economic underdevelopment are in a position to provide insight and observe informally the things we hope to examine a bit more systematically in our research. We expose these ideas to your view to encourage you to think about them and react to them. We hope to learn from the thoughts that you may have on these rather different ideas.

Background

Thirty-seven years ago Nobel Laureate Theodore W. Schultz was teaching at the University of Chicago. His concerns had shifted from the public policies for commercial agriculture to the problem of poverty in rural regions. In his graduate course on Resource Allocation and Policy, he alluded to the concept of human capital--looking at the productivity of human beings as something which is produced at a cost to the individual and society. It became an integral part of his theory of economic development which later was the basis for his recognition as a scholar and contributor to the transformation of formerly impoverished, static economies into modern progressive ones. And at that time, he was acutely concerned with the problems of rural poverty in the Appalachian region, the Deep South, and the cutover regions of the upper Midwest, not primarily other countries.

No one does this sort of thing single-handedly, but the recent reawakening of interest in education as an instrument of economic development in this and other southern states suggests that his contributions have had long-term impacts. The subject of this conference evinces the awareness that the process we call economic development involves important educational dimensions. An adequately functioning educational process, not just good roads, plant sites, and modern technology embodied in machines, is necessary to economic progress. A recent survey study which we conducted in South Central Kentucky showed that educational level (grades completed) was one of only two major factors explaining the amount of "disemployment," that is, time available for work but not employed (Preissing). A recent lead article in the Lexington

Herald-Leader, on results of statewide testing for achievement, shows that the problem of deficient educational performance in the Appalachian region of Kentucky is far from solved. Achievement is still below more affluent areas; and there are strong reasons to suspect that this is true of other parts of Appalachia as well.

The central question we want to lay before you is not whether education is important to economic development, but whether the periodic public harangues about the importance of public education and getting back to the basics of traditional academic skills really focus attention on the things that are necessary to get the job done.

The consolidated schools that we have now are better than the one-room schoolhouse in which many earlier generations (including the first author of this paper) got their first eight years of schooling. Furthermore, there is no doubt that teachers are better equipped because they have a better background in developmental and educational psychology and more subject matter preparation. Also, teaching methods have improved and better materials are available. But there is some basis for skepticism about whether adding a few more dollars for gadgets such as computerized learning tools, video-aided teaching, and upgraded curricula will solve the problem of lagging areas. Mostly, it seems to us, the problem of lagging educational performance is rooted in the social and economic environment within which schools operate.

The manner in which educational performance is affected by this environment will be discussed later. But first, if the general cause of the problem is rooted in this environment, the problem must be reframed; we must think of the aspects of that environment in which schools operate that impinge on students and the educational process and, equally importantly, how these can be changed. This explains how we formulated the title of our paper: "Education in the Strategy of Economic Development."

Factual Background

As many of you know, in the past two decades, the south central Kentucky counties along I-75, U.S. 27, and US 25-E have had a small industrial revolution. These counties, along with the other coal counties which are still coal-dominated, shared the dubious distinction of having had severe long-term poverty, low labor force participation, high unemployment, high per capita dependence on public assistance, and low educational attainment. The industrially developed counties in that region and the counties contiguous to them and which are well within their commuting zone still do.

An important study by the Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A., (Larson and White) showed that during the period of rapid growth in industrial employment in the nine core counties of this region (Clay, Clinton, Knox, Laurel, McCreary, Pulaski, Russell, Wayne, and Whitley), as many families who had incomes above the poverty line became impoverished as there were families who "graduated" from poverty status (Larson and White). These previously impoverished people were for the most part untouched by the presumed better employment opportunities, and this occurred despite the apparently improved opportunities for general and vocational education preparation over the past 30 years. Why is this, when from these and similar areas we have had students who excelled at the University of Kentucky and other institutions and went on to get higher degrees? Juanita Kreps, former Secretary of HEW, and Dr. C. E. Bishop, President of the University of Arkansas system, both graduates of Berea College, are examples.

More recently we conducted another survey which included these same nine counties and 10 contiguous Kentucky counties (Adair, Bell, Casey, Cumberland, Jackson, Leslie, Lincoln, Owsley, Perry, and Rockcastle). By our calculations, there were approximately 16% of the people who were available for work who had never worked full-time a single month over a seven-year period, 1979-86

(Preissing). While some of these people were not available for the entire period, to have even half this proportion of the available labor supply never employed full-time is a major social scandal. Over the period, if one includes the discouraged workers who had given up actually searching for jobs, plus those that are officially unemployed, i.e., actively searching for work but without jobs, we have only about two-thirds of the labor supply being used despite almost continual growth in employment in these 19 counties through the recession period (see Table 1 below, taken from Preissing and Skees). Using Census data and a different method of estimation, Stoll estimated that about 21% of the available workers in these same counties were not employed, but were not actively seeking jobs (what he called "discouraged workers," or "potential additions" to the official labor force) in 1970. If we add to this the officially unemployed for the 1979-85 period, we come out with an estimated 33.6% "real" unemployed, or utilization of only 66.4% of available labor, compared with 69.9% using the Preissing and Skees estimates. Either way, it is a problem of tragic dimensions.

Table 1. **Comparative Statistics on Unemployment Estimates for the U.S., Kentucky, and the Study Area**

Unemployment Rates (Percent)*

	U.S. (Official BEA)	Kentucky (Official BEA)	Study Area (Official BEA)	Study Area (Survey Results) Male & Female	Study Area (Survey Results) Males Only
1979	5.8	5.6	7.5	38	30
1980	7.1	8.1	10.7	36	30
1981	7.6	8.4	9.6	32	26
1982	9.7	10.6	12.4	30	26
1983	9.6	11.7	14.3	25	22
1984	7.4	9.3	13.4	26	20
1985	7.1	9.5	13.2	24	20

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, Bureau of Economic Analysis, 1979-1985.

* Statistics are weighted averages for Adair, Bell, Casey, Clay, Clinton, Cumberland, Jackson, Knox, Laurel, Leslie, Lincoln, McCreary, Owsley, Perry, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Russell, Wayne, and Whitley Counties, Kentucky, for 1980.

While we know that the gap in educational attainment has narrowed somewhat between areas such as this and more affluent ones, it remains true that both in our survey region and in the other parts of Appalachian Kentucky (presumably other Southern Appalachian counties as well) educational attainment and achievement are low (and the reason for this conference). Moreover, the principle characteristics that distinguish those who were never employed from those that were employed full-time for a month or more were age and education.

Why, when bus transportation and free lunches are provided for those unable to pay, and provision is made for all of the other essentials for a decent preparatory education, do we continue to see such lagging educational attainment and achievement? Even access to community colleges, vocational-technical schools and the like is available within moderate commuting ranges in most areas, and at very low cost. (In fact, we would contend that there is not a secondary school in the region in which program content, teacher training or facilities are inferior to the one attended in the 1936-40 period by the first author of this paper. Here, as elsewhere, there has been much improvement. Then what is wrong? What do we need to do to play catch-up in the educational game?

A Possible Explanation

It is true that cultures and social structures have remarkable capacity for self-perpetuation. And in the coal mining regions and small farm regions of Appalachia, classroom-learned skills had limited bearing on abilities to survive and live in relative comfort until relatively modern times. The folklore, mores, and language traditions reflect this. But this limited bearing on ability to survive and prosper was also true in other regions which are affluent and educationally progressive. What made the difference?

A rarely-referenced masterpiece study by sociologist H. Dudley Plunkett and economist Mary Jean Bowman analyzes the background, activities and attitudes of teachers, clergymen, lawyers, bankers, physicians, elected officials and a group of younger management people who had participated in a training activity. This group they called "elites" because their positions gave them potential for playing very key roles in the modernization and economic development processes of the Appalachian region. They examined, among other things, their capability to serve as a "cultural bridge" to the more modernized and developed society at large. The survey was conducted in the late 1960s, before the industrial boomlet in the south central Kentucky counties which we studied had reached full power. (It also did not include a representative sample of the few significant industrial employers and, rather strangely, no managerial personnel of the mining companies were included.) A major concern was with education, and the effects of these potential opinion-shaping leaders and power brokers on students and the educational system. For this reason the study is relevant to the subjects of concern in this conference.

According to the Plunkett-Bowman survey, many of these so-called elite had significant exposure to education or other experience outside the mountain area. But physicians, who are always small in number, and some classes of clergy were the only groups who were predominantly non-native in origin. This suggests that for most of the potential shapers of the attitudes and aspirations of the young, many of their own expectations and aspirations had been shaped by the same environment in which they were then functioning. In effect, they had home-grown attitudes. And this local environment was a relatively non-modernized one. So it comes as no great surprise that the authors say, "Outsiders have emphatic and positive views (toward modernization) while natives, though more numerous, are usually indifferent to modernization." And further, "The non-native civically active are predominantly non-Baptist clergy..., though there were some other professional men ...from the ranks of physicians, Baptist clergy and lawyers" (p. 65).

An Interpretation

These data suggest that infusions of civically-active persons with aspirations and perceptions of the "good life," shaped primarily by outside influences, are very important to progressive, modernizing educational change in these areas. Thus, the significance to the community of any change, such as a new industrial plant, is to an important degree dependent on

Table 2. Percent Employment in Manufacturing Industries by SIC in Occupational Class, United States, June 1983, and Bituminous Coal Mining, Kentucky, 1981.

		Managers & Admin. ($)	Professional, Para-Prof. & Technical ($)	Sales & Related ($)	Clerical & Admin. Support ($)	Agriculture Forestry & Related ($)	Prod., Conversion & Mat. Handling ($)	Service ($)	Proportion* in South Central Kentucky ($)
20	Food and Kindred Products	4.8	3.6	4.2	9.4	1.0	73.7	3.3	9.46
21	Textile Mill Products	3.5	2.7	1.1	8.1	.1	82.7	1.9	6.42
23	Apparel & Textile Products	3.1	1.5	1.7	8.6	—	83.7	1.2	31.46
24	Lumber and Wood Products	4.7	2.1	1.9	6.6	10.3	72.8	1.7	9.25
25	Furniture and Fixtures	4.5	2.5	2.8	9.0	---	79.9	1.4	7.16
27	Printing and Publications	7.1	11.5	9.6	23.5	---	46.8	1.5	3.19
28	Chemicals and Allied Products	8.2	19.2	3.6	14.6	.2	51.9	2.2	2.87
30	Rubber and Plastics	5.7	5.0	2.0	8.8	---	76.9	1.5	1.88
32	Stone, Clay and Glass	5.9	4.7	2.6	9.4	---	76.0	1.3	4.83
33	Primary Metals	4.4	6.6	1.5	9.0	---	76.5	2.0	2.40
34	Fabricated Metal Products	6.0	6.8	2.6	9.3	---	73.8	1.5	-1.82
35	Machinery except Electrical	7.4	16.8	3.1	14.2	---	56.9	1.6	11.78
36	Electrical and Electronic Mach.	6.1	19.9	1.7	12.1	---	58.7	1.5	2.10
37	Transportation Equipment	5.4	20.2	.6	10.2	---	51.0	1.5	1.17
12	Bituminous and Lig. Coal Mining **	6.4	3.7	.1	4.6	---	83.8	2.0	----

Sources: 1. U.S. Department of Labor. Occupational Employment in Manufacturing Industries. Bulletin 2248. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1985.

2. Kentucky Cabinet for Human Resources. Kentucky Occupational Profiles - Construction and Mining, 1981 Frankfort: Research and Statistics Branch, 1985.

* Presents the proportions of employees within the manufacturing sector, i.e., 9.46% of the employment in the manufacturing sector is in Food and Kindred Products in South Central Kentucky.

** Not considered in the manufacturing sector.

whether it brings with it a significant component of educated, non-native personnel with aspirations and perceptions which are congruent with the requirements of a modernized society.

How do these outsiders influence the educational processes of communities in which they live and work? What seems apparent is that there are two basic and interrelated avenues. These are:

1. Through influencing, by example, the perceptions of children and their parents about the importance of educational attainment and achievement as a route upward in the social and economic system, as a route out of poverty. We can call

this the demonstration effect: the living demonstration that a better life is possible and that academic credentials are a means of gaining access to it.

2. Through participation in school support activities, elections of board of education members, informal conferences with teachers and school officials, and by making municipal and county officials and leaders of civic organizations aware of the importance of good schooling to the life of the business community, there is the possibility of improving the quality of instruction. In doing so, they also reenforce awareness that those who have more affluence are also people that value educational excellence and performance of students.

The real question then becomes "What kinds of industries are likely to bring with them significant numbers of employees with these interests and attitudes?" The labor-intensive operation that depends for its success on a large pool of unskilled, minimum-wage manpower or womanpower, and a minimum complement of technical, managerial and skilled workers is not likely to be much of a catalyst to these processes of demonstration and civic participation. And a small proportion of the labor force in the new manufacturing industries in our survey counties fell into these more highly trained classes (see Table 2 on the previous page). The manufacturing industries which have come to the region are rather similar in proportions of labor of the more highly trained categories to similar industries in other areas (see Table 2, above, and Table 3, on the next page). With the exception of the two categories Standard Industrial Classification 35, which is non-electrical machinery, and S.I.C. 37, which is transportation equipment, together making up only about 13% of manufacturing employment, manufacturing employment was mostly in the industries that mainly used the less-trained classes of workers.

What these data may suggest is that the head count of new jobs which we read about in the newspapers may miss the really important factors that determine long-term modernizing developmental change. Therefore, we may need to look at the tradeoffs between the number of jobs that can be created with our modest resources of revenue bonding, training subsidies and plant site incentives and the quantity and quality of leadership personnel that the company may bring with it. It may suggest that we ought to be just more discriminating in our job-development strategies.

As far as education is concerned, we obviously could use some improvements, but as stated earlier, the larger problem is to get what we have more effectively and intensively utilized; this involves changes in the perceptions of parents and students of the importance of education as a route out of poverty. The director of a small organization in the coal area of the mountains told one of the authors a couple of years ago about his concerns for the attitudes of the children toward education and how these attitudes would affect his own school-age children. As he explained it, the coal mining environment provided direct evidence that the route to a decent house, a good car, and the other material things of an affluent society was to get established seniority in a job in the mines. But this depended little, if any, on schooling. Therefore, most of the children lived for the day when they could legally drop out of school, and academic performance counted for very little in the social pecking order in the schools.

While we have some evidence that schooling counts for something in terms of employment stability (the ability to get a job and keep one), our strong suspicion is that it would make a bigger difference if the industries of the region were ones which required more educated, technical, professional and managerial personnel, initially requiring people recruited from other areas. But more indirectly this could have great significance with respect to educational aspirations, school achievement and numbers of years spent in school. Those people who are educated and who exhibit to the parents and children in the community the possibility

Table 3. Illustrative Proportions of Employees by Occupational Class in Selected Categories of Manufacturing Plants in South Central Kentucky Counties 1986

	Total Plants	Plants Reporting*	Managers & Administrators (Percent)	Professional & Technical (Percent)	Secretarial & Clerical (Percent)	Skilled, Semi-skilled, Operators & Unskilled (Percent)
20	9	4	9.1	10.6	7.0	73.3
23	12	12	2.7	1.5	2.5	93.3
24	9	5	8.1	3.8	3.9	84.2
32	9	4	5.2	7.7	4.1	83.0
35	7	6	15.3	8.3	10.3	66.1

*Firms not reporting had insufficient records or elected not to supply data.

Source: Survey by University of Kentucky under cooperative agreement with Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

that education is an important way to access the upper rungs of the economic and social ladder may be a primary means of breaking the vicious circle of poverty. If this is true, there may be additional reasons to go beyond the head count of jobs created and look at the influence of the company and its complement of personnel on the image of the children and their families and the way they can gain access to the "good life." (For example, will the 1000-employee Fruit of the Loom brand underwear plant, announced in the October 6, 1987 Lexington Herald-Leader, merely provide about that number of near-minimum-wage jobs, or will it favorably affect the aspirations and educational performance of Russell County young people?) These same imported company personnel, if they are sufficiently numerous, educated, affluent, and ready to participate in school-support activities, may provide the catalyst for progressive changes in the schools themselves, and, thereby, a "tone" of attitudes that suggest that education is a route out of poverty. Theirs is a potential dual role in the processes of educational progress.

It is true, of course, that there are not enough IBMs to infuse this kind of influence into every community. However, there are important differences, even among firms that have located in rural communities. A number of firms with progressive attitudes toward community improvements can be found in smaller cities in Kentucky and elsewhere. What it will take to attract them to even the already existing nodes of industrial growth in Appalachia is difficult to say at this point and merits careful study. The cost may be high. Whether it is worth the cost will have to be judged by state and local officials and the voters who elect them. It is they who provide the incentives and who determine which employers are heavily recruited and which are given less encouraging treatment. There are no certain and simple solutions to these problems that have been with us for many decades. But one thing seems now to be certain: the simple solutions of the past, a combination of upgraded facilities and educational opportunities on the one hand, and increases in numbers of jobs in non-traditional types of employment have not worked. They have not significantly reduced the proportions of families in poverty, nor have they been very effective in reducing the educational gap between Appalachia and the more affluent areas of this country. Achievement scores reported by the Herald-Leader still leave Laurel, Whitley, Knox, Pulaski and McCreary counties, the more industrially developed of the counties we studied, in the lowest achievement class.

While we have provided no prescription and have no definite factual basis for judging the merits of these ideas, we invite you to join us in trying to determine whether there is a new set of strategies that will catalyse the educational and developmental processes in the region. Clearly education is one of the more important kinds of personal and community investments in modernization. Particularly in the development of those all-important human resources of Appalachia will we find the key to the catch-up ballgame that we find ourselves in. The question is mainly whether we can solve the puzzle of how to make educational progress and increased job creation mutually reinforcing processes.

We invite your thoughts and insights as we begin to probe this much-neglected set of problems. We know that we are breaking away from conventional ways of looking at development and education in Appalachia and other regions of economic underdevelopment. However, it is clear that conventional ways of looking at issues of development and education in Appalachia and other regions of economic underdevelopment have not worked to provide answers to the core problem. So we think that it may be time to try something different, to take a different look at the problem.

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THE POLITICS OF SCHOOL REFORM IN THE EIGHTIES

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Today, I want to share with you my experience in working toward educational reform in Lincoln County, West Virginia where I live and have worked for the last 12 years. I hope my story will reflect on the relationship between education and who owns and controls those structures and institutions that decide on and control the lives of the children in our state.

I want to begin by describing Lincoln County. It is located in the southwestern part of West Virginia. It has a population of 23,000. The median income is below $4,000. Fully 41% of our people are on some form of public assistance. It has a school population of 5500 students with 40% of them dropping out before graduation and of those who do graduate, at least one-third are incapable of filling out a job application. The educational level of the total population is 8 years of schooling; which is also the state level. On the other hand, Lincoln County is a wealthy place. It is rich in gas, oil and coal deposits. It is also a beautiful place because it has never been stripped mined as has the rest of southern West Virginia.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, I worked with a group called Parents for Better Schools. Our aim was to improve education for our children. We worked on various issues and learned many things. We watched as school board members transferred hundreds of thousands of dollars from one line item to another in the school budget within seconds with no discussion. Yet, they would spend twenty minutes discussing who would get a job as half time cook at one of the local schools. We watched teachers and principals who supported our work being demoted or transferred to opposite ends of the county from where they lived. We saw them harassed and in one instance even physically attacked by school administrators. We documented the use and misuse of federal dollars. We found that money sent into the county to feed school children was being spent on paying truck drivers and school secretaries instead of feeding children.

We monitored a school building program. The school board had $12 million to spend on renovations for older schools and the building of 2 new ones. In all, there were 21 contracts put out for the improvement of school buildings in the county. Two companies got all 21 bids. The two companies had the same board of directors with only one difference, the father was president of one board and his son was president of the other. Then as we followed up on the process, we discovered that these two companies had then sub-contracted those bids to a local man who just happened to be the person who controlled the democratic machine in Lincoln County.

We documented the money being spent in the vocational program in the county. We discovered that the building the school board purchased for vocational programs had been owned by a company whose president was once again, the man who controlled the political machine. The building had originally housed a sewing factory but the company had left for Haiti and cheap labor which left the building open and the man with a building on his hands. The school board relieved him of his burden. That building was listed in the Secretary of State's office, valued at $250,000. The school paid $880,000 for the building and then proceeded to spend another $2 million in renovations.

We also discovered that federal money sent for counselors for the vocational programs was instead being shifted into the school buildings and renovations account; money that was supposed to help youngsters was being spent for doors, windows and even clocks.

We also documented the misconduct and misuse of funds in the Title I program or Chapter I (as it came to be called under the Reagan administration). This program is designed to aid youngsters who are behind grade level in reading and mathematics. Many of our children are in it. When we uncovered serious problems in the program, we went to the State Department of Education and asked them to give us some assistance. What we received was rudeness and a total disregard of our right to even raise questions about the program. We were able to get a federal audit which showed that Lincoln County had misspent $721,000 of the $800,000 they had received for one year's Chapter I program.

All in all, we were able to get four federal audits that verified our findings. The role that the State Department of Education is supposed to play in all these programs is to monitor how counties spend money and to help them meet federal regulations and guidelines. At this point, it is fair to say that the State Department of Education began to know who we were.

A group of local politicians decided to try to do something about the federal action we had been able to secure. They, lead by the man who controlled the local machine, went to Washington and visited the senators from West Virginia, among others. After that time, we were never able to get the federal people to follow up on the work we were doing in the county. The one man from the national education office, who had been extremely helpful in the past told me that he didn't know whose nerve we were hitting, but he could no longer provide us with any assistance. As a matter of fact, all my requests using the Freedom of Information Act, got the same response. That is, the material you have requested is interoffice information which is restricted.

Another area that members of our group worked on was the participatory research project that many of you are probably familiar with, The Appalachian Land Ownership Study. After we had gathered the basic information for our county, we began to act on it. Columbia Gas owns 270,000 acres of mineral in Lincoln County. They were paying 14 cents an acre in property taxes. Their property had not been assessed since 1939. We challenged that and after a long battle that ended in court, we won. Columbia Gas was ordered to pay 82 cents an acre. Due to this increase, although only pennies, it meant an additional half million dollars yearly for our local school system.

The Appalachian Land Ownership Study was to play a major role at the state level of which I will speak later. However, here its real importance was in our empowerment. We were part of gathering the information. It belonged to us and it gave us a sense of recapturing our own history. We began to see the clear connection between who owned and controlled the wealth of our county and its relationship to our poor educational system.

In the mid-seventies, a mother from Lincoln County, named Janet Pauley, got tired of her young son coming home from school smelling like a sewer. She went to the school to discover an open sewer running across the playground. She brought it to the principal's attention who said that there was no money to fix it. She went to see the superintendent and he also told her that there was no money to correct the situation. She then went to see a legal services lawyer and out of that was born the Pauley v. Bailey case (Bailey being the treasurer of West Virginia at the time). This began the school finance case in West Virginia. The case went to the Supreme Court of the state and they found that West Virginia's schools were unconstitutional. In fact, Lincoln County's children did not have equal opportunity to education. They ruled in favor of the state's children and sent the case to the Circuit Court of Arthur Recht for full definition. The case stayed in that court for 7 years. It was during those years that the work I have been describing to you took place.

Finally, however, in the spring of

1982, the Pauley v. Bailey case came out of the court of Arthur Recht and from that time became known as the Recht decision. The decision called for 2 major changes: 1) the total restructuring of the school financing system and 2) the total restructuring of the school system. Judge Recht's decision called for the naming of a commissioner who would assemble a staff to come up with a master plan for the education of West Virginia's children. One would have thought he had dropped a bomb on the state. He was attacked by the Governor (who was Rockefeller at the time). He was criticized by newspapers across the state and generally referred to as a crazy, long hair from the north. (He happened to be from the northern part of the state). The barrage lasted for several weeks. Then Rockefeller went to see Judge Recht. They met for two hours. Neither of them have ever been willing to disclose the contents of their discussion. Four days after their meeting, however, Judge Recht issued a supplemental opinion whereby he would not name a commissioner but instead he would turn the case over to the State Department of Education, the defendants in the case and the very people who had allowed the schooling of West Virginia's children to be in the mess it was in. At that point, I knew those of us who sought real educational reform were in serious trouble. The fox was once again in charge of the henhouse.

While the State Department of Education laid their plans, the other issue in the case began to be taken care of. One of the key elements in the Pauley v. Bailey case had been to use the Appalachian Land Ownership Study to document by hard data, for the first time, who owned the wealth of the state and who paid the taxes. Corporations own 51% of the surface land in the state, they own 73% of the minerals and yet they pay only 16% of its property taxes. The political system was going to have to deal with these facts and deal with them they did. Up until this time, West Virginia law said that property would be assessed at 100% of its market value. That was to change during the long, hot summer of 1982.

Governor Rockefeller called the West Virginia legislature into special session that summer and the one item on their agenda was something called the Tax Limitation Amendment. This amendment set all property at 60% of its market value and had a small clause that set a percentage limit on how much any company's or individual's property taxes could be increased in a year's time. That is, it would be a gradual, very gradual process. At the close of the special session, the amendment was ready for November's ballot. The legislature had done its work.

The next step I watched unfold that long summer had to do with county assessors. A workshop was held for all county assessors at the capitol. As assessors returned to their counties and held meetings, I attended several of them in several different counties. They were all alike. The meetings were held to draw senior citizens, many were in senior citizens centers (the largest voting block) and the message was the same. The talk was about people losing their homes due to the tax increase caused by that crazy Recht decision. There was an answer though, to make sure we passed the Tax Limitation Amendment. If we could pass it, we would all be saved. Someone was saved. In the November election, the amendment passed and with it the tax burden that West Virginia's people have always carried. Corporations were once again in control or our children's future.

Meanwhile, the State Department of Education put together a committee of 95. This committee was supposed to come up the Master Plan for education. I was named to that committee. Out of 95 people, 20 of us were lay citizens. The rest were employed by boards of education at one level or another.

That fall I attended the first meeting of the committee of 95. It was the most organized, tightly controlled committee I had ever seen or hope to see. The work had all been done. We were to be its rubber stamp as the State Department put out its press calling us people who were working in this democratic process. All one had to do that first day to know their place was to look at the organizational charts, the graphs, the committee lists, the sub-committee lists and the sub-sub-committee list. I had been placed on the School-Community Relations Committee. That sounded good but I knew that there must be at least one committee that had an overview. I found it. It was a committee of 8 people who would have access to all the documents.

You know the old saying of being in the right place at the right time. Well, it was true for me that day. It seems my old college friend, a woman who actively serves with the league of Women Voters of West Virginia was the parent representative on the select committee of 8. We had lunch that day. She said she didn't have time and wasn't really interested in serving on that committee. I explained it its importance to me. At the beginning of the afternoon session, in the presence of the whole committee as well as the press, she stood and resigned from the committee. I immediately stood and made them an offer they couldn't refuse. I said I would be happy to serve on the committee and would be glad to be the parent representative. There was a long silence with the assistant superintendent looking at the superintendent. Finally, they said they would be happy to have me serve. It is enough to say those meetings were not exactly comfortable for any of us. However, I was able to read all the documents which enabled me to clearly see the intention of the master plan for education. That intention was to consolidate schools across the state.

But, the committee work that I'd like to share with you is the story of the School-Community Relations Committee. It was a committee charged with coming up with a plan for community involvement in schools. The committee was made up of 20 people: two university professors, two lay people, and the rest teachers, principals, and service personnel. The committee worked by consensus and worked hard. We came up with a plan for School Improvement Councils at each school in the state consisting of principal, teachers, service personnel, parents, students and a community representative. This council would evaluate the school, plan for the school and implement the decisions they made based on state standards. We were all pleased with our work. When we came together for the last time to polish up the document, a man entered the room waving the document and saying, "I won't have this. I am a superintendent and am president of the superintendent's association and we will not have this." When I asked if he was on the committee, he said he was but that he had never attended any meeting because he considered the committee of no consequence. After a brief discussion, he called for a vote on the acceptance of the document we had prepared and as he did so he looked at each person around the table, pointing his finger as he said, "I would remind you people that your vote here today is a matter of record." The vote was 19 to 2 against acceptance of the document they had helped prepare. I never attended any further meetings of that committee. They did eventually come up with a plan for School-Community Relation. It consisted of each school system making a position on their staff called public relations officer.

I knew my work on the committee of 95 was one of information only. The real change, if it could happen must come from outside those structures. So, during that summer and fall, the work of Parents for Better Schools moved statewide and was called the West Virginia Education Project. We worked with parents in many counties and tried to help make sense out of what was happening at the state level. We also worked with educational experts from around the country. The results of the work became our recommendations for implementation of the Recht decision.

On the morning of December 14, 1982, the State Department of Education presented their master plan to Arthur Recht. Although the case had taken seven years for full definition, the State

Department had produced their remedy in only 90 days. On that same afternoon, we had a court hearing before Judge Recht where we sought legal status in the case. He denied our petition but did accept as an amicus brief our recommendations for implementations of his decision. We appealed to the State Supreme Court and were granted a hearing. I argued our position before the court, but we were denied legal status. They said we were too late. The State Department's master plan would stand.

The master plan for education in West Virginia was a continuation of what it had always been, money spent on buildings and things, not people. It is a plan that tightens political control and ensures its political patronage system. It is a plan that adds mountains of paper work on teachers instead of freeing them to be creative, active human beings with their students. It is a plan that hurts those most it was supposed to help. It is a plan that will increase the underclass in our state.

The current issues being discussed and written about in West Virginia are education and how in the world to finance it. The current governor called for the Year of Education but it turned out to be budget cuts from kindergarten programs through the higher education system. The educational establishment is trying frantically to pass a state-wide excess levy to finance schools. Property reappraisals were completed but the West Virginia legislature has not accepted them and it seems very doubtful they will this coming session, it's an election year.

I would also like to share with you some observations. One thing that has been said to me is that this situation is unique. It is not. It is not unique to Lincoln County. It is not unique to West Virginia. Nor is it unique to Appalachia. Excellence and quality are the terms used around this country to exclude. Today, social mobility is downward, not upward. We can no longer hold the carrot of a good job as an educational incentive. We no longer have an economy that can accommodate large numbers of schooled people. We have been training in this country for a long time, students to fit into the industrial society. That society no longer exists. What are we training for now? May I suggest that the key lies in the difference between training and education, training as that constant maintenance of the status quo, versus education, the creative process of enabling growth that can be the process of transformation.

Before we label this situation as another example of hopelessness in Appalachia, let me tell you I do not see it that way. Anytime I see people willing to fight in such a politically oppressive system, I see that as a sign of hope. When I see parents fight for an education for their children, it is a sign of hope. When I see teachers file grievances and fight for their rights, it is a sign of hope. When I see service personnel speak out against those who control whether their family eats or not, it is a sign of hope. The very process of identifying and naming our reality, analyzing its causes and structures, can be what empowers us to transform it.◆

DEMOCRATIC EMPOWERMENT AND THE SOUTH CAROLINA SEA ISLAND CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR APPALACHIAN SCHOOLS

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> **The public schools in this country should be at the forefront of the battle to create a more sensitive, responsive, and responsible society.**
>
> **—Eliot Wigginton (1985)**

The purpose of this presentation is to talk about an old problem from a different perspective. The problem is how to empower people in Appalachian to gain more control over their lives. The different perspective is furnished by the South Carolina Sea Island Citizenship Schools, a literacy program established and directed by Highlander Folk School in 1957[1]. The initial goal of the schools was to help black adults meet the literacy requirements for voter registration in South Carolina; however, the more far-reaching goal was citizenship education for democratic empowerment. My presentation has three purposes. First, I will tell the story of the Sea Island Citizenship Schools. Second, I will define empowerment. Third, I will discuss the Citizenship Schools and empowerment as they apply to education in Appalachia.

The Citizenship School Story

The Citizenship School story is told by examining three dimensions: the place, the times, and the personalities involved in establishing the schools. The place is the South Carolina Sea Islands which are part of a chain of coastal islands that extend from the southern border of North Carolina to the northern border of Florida. Johns Island, the largest and site of the first Citizenship School, is 36 miles long by 30 miles wide and is located six miles south of Charleston, South Carolina. Citizenship Schools were also started on Wadmalaw and Edisto Islands, both south of Johns Island (Twining & Baird, 1980; Tjerandsen, 1980).

Until recently most of the people on the Sea Islands were black descendants of former slaves who worked on huge rice and cotton plantations. Historically they have engaged in truck farming and raising cotton on small farms that they own. A majority of blacks have owned land since Reconstruction, but their isolation from the mainland for hundreds of years has created a "people [who] have been substantially by-passed by the mainstream of American life and development" according to Herman Blake (1961). This isolation has meant poor education, poor health care, and little economic opportunity. Today bridges have eliminated the physical isolation, but the culture of an earlier time remains. For example, Gullah, a language composed of standard English, archaic English, corruptions of English words, and African words can still be heard today: "Old-time talk we still de talkem here!" (Blockson, 1987).

Today many young blacks leave the islands and subsistence farming to work in cities on the mainland. The old culture is gradually disappearing, partly because of outside white real estate corporations developing the land for recreation and retirement. Although these developments offer employment for some of the island blacks, they also threaten the sea island culture: "The islanders' ineffectiveness in resisting the often reckless advances of developers must be laid at the door of the very insularity that for so long protected their culture." (Jones-Jackson & Joyner, 1987).

Isolation, outside ownership of land,

and language differences are factors that affect people in Appalachia also. In Appalachia it is mountains, not islands, that contribute to physical and cultural isolation. In Appalachia about 75% of the surface acres and 80% of the mineral acres are owned by outside mineral interests or by the government (Egerton, 1981). The chief difference between the two cultures is race. In addition to many of the problems historically affecting Appalachian people, Sea Island residents were discriminated against because of color.

One effect of discrimination was the disenfranchisement of blacks on the Sea Islands and throughout the rest of the South beginning in the late 19th century. Devices such as the grandfather clause, the white primary, the poll tax, and the literacy test were created to keep southern politics free of black influence. By the 1950s there were few black registered voters on the Sea Islands because there were few literate black adults. On Johns Island about 10% of the black residents were registered to vote, about the same number were literate (U.S. Dept of Commerce, 1960).

The second dimension of the Citizenship School story, the times, were characterized by problems other than lack of voting power. In the 1950s, according to reports of George Kearney (1955), Myles Horton and Zilphia Horton (1954; 1955), Guy Carawan (1966), Septima Clark (1955; 1959), and others who lived on or visited the islands during the 1950s, education, jobs, discrimination, and health presented serious problems. Black schools were old, crowded, and drafty in the winter. The teachers had few supplies and attendance was sporadic because of the growing season. Venereal disease was epidemic. There were many unwed young mothers, most of whom knew little about child care. Poor sanitation and health habits led to almost continuous cases of hookworm and skin rashes. Black farmers had to go through middle men to sell their produce. Since many of them were illiterate, they were often cheated. And, of course, everything at that time was segregated: churches, stores, schools, parks, and beaches.

The third dimension of the story involves four personalities who are also crucial to understanding the development of the schools. These personalities are: Myles Horton, a white "radical hillbilly" and director and co-founder of Highlander Folk School; Septima Clark, a black schoolteacher from Charleston; Esau Jenkins, a black bus driver and farmer from Johns Island; and Bernice Robinson, a black beautician and seamstress from Charleston and Clark's cousin.

Myles Horton and Don West had co-founded Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, in 1932. Under Horton's leadership, the school became known throughout the South first as a school for labor organizers and by the 1950s as a school for civil rights. Adults came to Highlander to learn from other adults who were working on problems in their communities. At Highlander they ate together, sang together, and learned from each other. Highlander measured the success of its programs by the activities of its students when they went back to their communities. Highlander had been established as a school for social change, a school that would upset the status quo in the South. Myles Horton, with his vision for a better world, his belief in people as determiners of their own destiny, and his drive to convince others of the rightness of his views, is a key factor in Highlander's success and the success of the Citizenship Schools.

Septima Clark, a black school teacher from Charleston, became Highlander's Director of Education after she was fired from her teaching job in South Carolina for being a member of the NAACP. As a former teacher from Johns Island, she was aware of the education and political needs of the Sea Islands. She invited Esau Jenkins, a black leader from Johns Island to a Highlander workshop in Monteagle, Tennessee, in 1954. Out of this workshop the Citizenship Schools began.

Jenkins, a self-educated bus driver and

farmer, had been attempting to increase the number of black voters by teaching them the section of the South Carolina Constitution that they needed to know for voter registration. But this was a tedious process, and he could not teach 2,000 people to read and write. At the 1954 workshop he asked Horton to help him establish schools to teach people to read and write in order to vote. Horton agreed. Jenkins would provide the local leadership and the place; Highlander would provide the funds through the Field Foundation and the Schwartzhaupt Foundation (Tjerandson, 1980).

The next step was finding a teacher. Horton recommended that a black man or woman with knowledge of the islands but no formal training as a teacher be found. Earlier efforts by the public schools to start adult education classes on Johns Island had failed because black adults had found that admitting their illiteracy to college-educated whites and learning to read books intended for children to be humiliating. Bernice Robinson, an NAACP recruiter, was exactly the teacher Horton had in mind.

Teaching the Disenfranchised

Robinson began teaching in January, 1957, in the back of a cooperative store organized by Jenkins and other island residents. On the evening of her first class, she told her students: "I'm not really going to be your teacher. We're going to work together and teach each other" (Robinson, 1986). She asked her students what they wanted to learn and then developed her own teaching materials to meet those needs. Her students wanted to fill out order blanks for catalogues, to read the newspaper, to read letters from their children, to do simple arithmetic, to read the Bible, and to register to vote.

Robinson developed a number of techniques that proved successful with adults. She taught them to write their names using the kinesthetic method. She made reading relevant to their needs. She developed vocabulary and spelling lists from words they needed to know from the South Carolina Constitution and their everyday lives. Words such as "tomato", "cotton", "register", and "imprisonment" were considered more relevant to their lives than cat, dog, Dick, and Jane. She asked them to tell her stories about their work in the fields and their homes. Then she put their stories on paper and had the students learn to read them; she said, "This is your story. We're going to learn how to read your story" (Robinson, 1986). Robinson knew this was a good way to teach, without ever having heard of the so-called "language experience" approach to reading. Math was made relevant by using grocery ads and problems with practical application: "How much do you expect to receive when you sell your crops?" Later Robinson and Clark combined resources and methods to create **My Citizenship Booklet** (1961-2). One story problem, not likely to be found in standard math texts, reads as follows: "Ten students were arrested in the sit-in movement and were fined $75 apiece. How much fine was paid?" (p. 13).

By 1959 Robinson was teaching students songs to help them learn. Music became a regular part of the classes through the work of Guy Carawan, Highlander's music director. Carawan and his wife Candie recorded songs that were part of the islanders' heritage such as "Michael, Row Your Boat Ashore," which had originated in the islands in the 1850s. (Carawan, 1960-1; Tape 515A, 1960). Myles Horton once said that in addition to action, people "need something to cultivate the spirit and the soul." Music was that "something" both at Highlander and at the Citizenship Schools.

By February of 1958, Robinson had taught two classes on Johns Island and all 26 students, who had attended all five months, registered to vote by reading a paragraph from the state Constitution and writing their own names[2]. The classes had met twice a week for two hours a night. Adult students, some of whom could not write their names when they began, passed the literacy test after only 80 hours of classes (Tjerandsen, 1980).

The new voters on Johns Island influenced others to get their certificates. Before long, Johns Island was "infested with voters," and word spread to adjoining islands, Wadmalaw and Edisto, and to North Charleston. Expansion was what Horton wanted also, and it coincided with additional grant money from the Schwartzhaupt Foundation. Potential leaders on these islands were identified and they attended a workshop at Highlander (Franson, 1978; Tjerandsen, 1980).

The class on Wadmalaw was taught by Ethel Grimball, Esau Jenkin's daughter, in a small building belonging to the Presbyterian Church. Grimball, a college-educated teacher, had close ties to the people of Johns and Wadmalaw Islands. Although she developed her own methods, Grimball, like Robinson, was attuned to the needs of the students who wanted to read and write, do arithmetic, and to learn to sew or crochet (Grimball, 1987).

A class was started on Edisto Island in 1958 by Alleen Brewer (now Wood). Brewer was a social worker from the Presbyterian Church, which furnished a meeting place also. Although 38 men and women enrolled (the largest class so far), Brewer met the challenge by grouping students so that they could help each other. She also taught reading, writing, arithmetic, citizenship, sewing and leather craft, history of the United States and the civil rights movement, in response to expressed student needs. (Tape 515A, 1961b; Brewer, 1960; Clark, 1962). For many of the students on Edisto, the social part of each class session was extremely important. One man said, "Now we don't have to wait until Sunday to fellowship together" (Clark, 1962, p. 159).

From December, 1958 - February, 1959, four citizenship schools were held on Edisto Island, Johns Island, Wadmalaw Island, and in North Charleston. With 106 students enrolled in these classes, ranging in age from 15 to 76, Bernice Robinson became a supervisor, overseeing the development of new classes. By the end of the school term, 86 students were registered to vote (Tjerandsen, 1980:167)

The students' responses to these early classes were very positive. Most wanted the classes to continue. Student comments were recorded on tape, and some wrote letters to the teachers and to Highlander:

> I enjoyed the school very good and I hope it will be a little longer if its able to continue.
>
> --Ms. Wright, Johns Island
> (Tape 807A, 1957)

> The adult school means so much to me I cannot express my appreciation and thoughts by words. The only think I am so sorry the school terms was so short. I would like to thank our teacher Mrs. Brewer for helping us out so wonderful in sewing, arithmetic.
>
> --Minnie R. Washington, Edisto Island
> (Letters, 1959)

In 1959-1960, 182 adults enrolled in Citizenship School classes on Johns Island, Promise Land (northern section of Johns Island), Wadmalaw, Edisto, and North Charleston; 65 became registered voters. By March of 1960, there were 200 black voters on Edisto, up from 40 in 1958. Johns Island black voters had increased by 300% from 1956 to 1960. In 1960-1961 classes were held in North Charleston, Edisto and Wadmalaw, and 105 out of 111 black students registered to vote. In 1960-1961, Bernice Robinson and Septima Clark set up eight classes in Huntsville, Alabama, and Savannah, Georgia. By the end of this session, 245 students, ranging in age from 17 to 65, had attended the Citizenship School classes, and 232 had registered to vote (Tjerandsen, 1980; Glen 1986; HFS, 1960; HFS, 1960-61; HFS, 1961).

The Citizenship Schools, as well as the teacher-training workshops which Highlander had developed, were transferred to (SCLC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), with Highlander continuing as a consultant for the program. Andrew Young, who had joined the Highlander staff earlier that year, and Septima Clark went to the SCLC to organize the schools along with Dorothy Cotton of the SCLC. Bernice Robinson remained at

Highlander and acted as a consultant to the SCLC (Glen, 1986). The spread of the schools under the SCLC was rapid. By September, 1963, there were 700 teachers and 50,000 new voters who could be traced to the Citizenship School movement (Clark, 1963). These figures represent dramatic growth, considering the humble beginning on Johns Island with 14 students and one inexperienced teacher. But voter registration is only one part of the story. Highlander's goal was that the Citizenship School students would become leaders in their communities, "empowered citizens", who would address problems of health, education, jobs, and discrimination.

Empowerment: Exploring Definitions

According to John Pickles (1985) we cannot talk meaningfully about empowerment until we focus on the places and commonplaces in our lives. Empowerment must be grounded in real communities and schools. Pickles points out that education should

> engage students in a dialogue with the commonplaces of their world in order that they can 1) understand them and hold on to the commonplaces which are significant; 2) transcend those commonplaces which are parochial and constraining; and 3) change those commonplaces which they judge to be wrong.

Pickles then argues that students should be able to work together with others to identify principles and values through which they can control change. In other words, students must analyze power and control in the places and commonplaces of their lives and reflect on these relationships, before democratic empowerment can be addressed.

Henry Giroux (1978) does not use the term "commonplaces" but makes a point similar to Pickles when he argues that students need to see the value and legitimacy of their own "cultural capital" before they can enter into dialogue with others. But in order for such discussion to lead to empowerment, students must go beyond the reflective inquiry that Pickles advocates. Giroux (1983) argues that students must engage in "emancipatory rationality," defined as "criticizing that which is restrictive and oppressive while at the same time supporting action in the service of individual freedom and well-being."

Giroux's ideas are influenced by the thinking of Paulo Freire. Freire (1972) argues that education should be a liberating process, not a domesticating (conforming, restrictive) one. Liberation takes place through dialogue between student and teacher. The students and teachers work together to become aware of oppressive situations in society, economics, and politics and begin to discuss how to take action to change these situations. Applying Freire's ideas to a definition of empowerment, education must include the student as a participant, engage that student in dialogue on issues of concern to the student, and encourage the student to reflect on these problems and to plan to take action against them.

But how can teachers and students become convinced that they can shape their social, political, and economic reality? According to Sissela Bok (Kidder, 1986) we must teach that one person can make a difference; an individual can "spark an action" that can lead to a larger movement. Bok points out that problems in society must be addressed by individuals who believe that they have the power to effect change by working together for common goals. Robert Bellah and associates in **Habits of the Heart** (1985) stress that Americans should be looking for common ground, for values that they share. The search for common ground would begin with local efforts: "These local initiatives may, however, be the forerunners of social movements that will once again open up spaces for reflection, participation, and the transformation of our institutions." Viewed from this perspective, empowerment has both a personal and a public dimension.

In 1981 Myles Horton used the word

"empower" in explaining Highlander's purpose: "We try to empower people to take more control over their lives" (Moyers, 1981). Horton points out that at Highlander the subject matter may range from labor issues to civil rights to multinational corporations, but the purpose remains the same, "to help people become so empowered that they can begin to have something to do with their lives." Horton (1973) also stressed that people must be able to see beyond "what is," to try to envision a better world, and to look for universal principles that apply to all cultures. Empowerment, according to Horton, is a creative process which enables people to be participants in shaping a better world.

My definition of empowerment has been influenced by the ideas of the people I have been discussing, especially those of Myles Horton. It is a synthesis of these ideas but includes my understanding of empowerment as applied to the Citizenship Schools as well. Empowerment in a democratic society means

1) believing that people can be effective in addressing injustice and oppression in their lives;

2) asking questions about the differences between democratic ideas and the realities of society;

3) acting to change society based on universal principles of benefit to all.

The key question then is: Did the Citizenship Schools empower people?

Empowerment & the Citizenship Schools

First, there is evidence that as a result of the schools people began to identify their problems by looking critically at their own culture and history. Many of the students had acquired "learned helplessness." They believed that it was better for whites to make the big decisions about politics and that black had no need to vote. Robinson, however, validated their backgrounds and helped them believe that their ideas and experiences had worth. She said that they would learn together, therefore, encouraging students see that they had a responsibility in the learning process. She also tried to open their minds to a bigger world. She thought that learning to read and write shed light on the lives of the people who were formerly illiterate. Students were encouraged to use local resources. Knowing where to get help was an essential step in helping students began to solve their own problems.

The second step in the empowerment process is critical awareness, developing skepticism. Esau Jenkins showed students how their religion fit into the Citizenship School classes. He said that they could honor the Lord by becoming active citizens and that a good Christian was not passive but took an active role and addressed problems (Tape 515A, 1960).

Students became also more aware of problems in their culture such as lack of political power, apathy, fear of whites, and poor schools. Robinson posted the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in her classroom. Although the rights in the document were supported by the United States for the rest of the world, they were not a reality for many poor people and minorities in the United States. Democracy, or lack of it, took on new meaning for a number of Citizenship School students. Solomon Brown, a student on Edisto said "We learned much of what democracy means that we did not know before. We were inspired to help others toward first-class citizenship" (Letters, 1959).

Bernice Robinson taught students to be more skeptical about what they read in the newspapers and the promises made to them by people who wanted their support. She taught lessons on how "to read between the lines" by bringing newspaper articles to the class and discussing what they really meant or what was left out. She was sensitive to the fact that many blacks on the islands had been taken advantage of, and she urged them to take a more critical view of their world and not be so accepting of what whites handed out. She urged people in class to speak up, telling them that being heard was an important part of becoming effective citizens (Tape 515A, 1965).

The ultimate evidence of empowerment, however, is action. Although Esau Jenkins had become a leader in his own right, he increased his influence through the organization of the Citizenship Schools. He encouraged Citizenship School students on six islands and two mainland communities to start "second step" political action groups that would address issues, discuss candidates for office, analyze political power, and develop strategies for practical problems on the islands such as driving safety (HFS, 1961; Second Step, 1963; Franson, 1978). Jenkin's influence spread beyond the islands through the Palmetto Voters Association and the Citizens Committee of Charleston County. Through these organizations, Jenkins influenced candidates to listen to black needs. He pointed out that the magistrates on Johns Island no longer assumed that blacks were guilty when they entered court, because these magistrates needed black votes to get elected (Tape 515A, 1962). In 1969 Jenkins was appointed to the school board, some thirteen years after he had run unsuccessfully for that same board. He is credited with being instrumental in establishing racial harmony at St. Johns High School, the integrated high school on Johns Island today. (Saunders, 1987).

Jenkins, with help from Citizenship School students and other island residents, helped establish adult education, a kindergarten, a credit union, a nursing home, a low income housing project, and The Sea Islands Comprehensive Health Center (Woodruff, 1984). Although Jenkins was killed in an automobile accident in 1972, today a number of places still bear testimony to his work. The Esau Jenkins bridge between Wadmalaw and Johns Islands in particular symbolizes the strength of Jenkin's leadership as a link between people on the Sea Islands and his work to promote the welfare of all the people living there.

Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson increased their activity in the Civil Rights Movement as a result of the schools. Clark became a board member of the SCLC and a close friend of Martin Luther King Jr. A recent book about her work in the Citizenship Schools and the civil rights movement was written by Cynthia Brown and entitled **Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement** (1987). Robinson became a consultant for teacher-training workshops all over the South and also worked on voter registration in Mississippi. She is currently a member of Highlander's Board of Directors and recently ran for the office of state representative from her district in Charleston and only narrowly lost the election.

Ethel Grimball, the teacher on Wadmalaw Island, also grew in her role as an activist. After serving as a Citizenship School teacher, she became a director for Head Start, a director of programs for migrant families, and an executive assistant for the Charleston County Economic Opportunity Commission. She also helped establish an alcoholic rehabilitation clinic on Johns Island with the help of Bill Saunders and others. Today she is trying to bring more vocational education and black history into the Sea Island schools (Grimball, 1987).

On Wadmalaw Island an organization called the Board of Concerned Members of Wadmalaw Island was formed by the students of the first Citizenship School class. They helped raise the number of registered black voters from zero in the mid-1950s to over 1000 in 1973. A black woman was also elected as a precinct leader and another elected to the school board in 1973. Willie Smith, a Wadmalaw student, helped establish Second Step voter education classes and a community center on Wadmalaw (Mack, 1987).

Anderson Mack, Sr., credits the Citizenship Schools with helping him become a leader. He came to the Wadmalaw Island school as a student in his early twenties with a second grade education. Encouraged by the Citizenship

School experience, he took more classes through adult education at Haut Gap High School over the next few years. Together with Citizenship School students Willie Smith and Mary Steed, he helped establish a Community Center on Wadmalaw Island which sponsors a senior citizens program today. He worked to get mail delivered to people's homes, roads paved, a kindergarten started, and more parent involvement in the local school. Each of his three children received a college education. Today he is a community leader and works as a supervisor for the Public Works Department of the county (Mack, 1987).

Other students experienced greater leadership roles and autonomy in their community as a result of the schools. One student from Johns Island came to the Citizenship Schools as a cleaning woman for a white family, but she learned to read, write, and figure well enough to become bookkeeper for the Progressive Club and clerk in the cooperative store (Clark, 1962). Another student on Edisto became an officer in the Voters Association of Edisto Island in 1961 (Bligen, 1961). Clark recalls that two were elected sheriff, and one who went to college and later became a leader with Head Start in Charleston (Tjerandsen, 1980). Some earned money from the sewing and crocheting skills they had learned. Some students pursued additional schooling through adult education, as many as 50% of the class on Wadmalaw. A few eventually went to college (Tjerandsen, 1980; Mack, 1987; Grimball, 1987). But for some students the primary function of the schools was to help them develop personally and/or socially useful skills. The skills they gained in reading, writing, speaking, sewing, and crocheting enabled them to become less dependent on others and to make a greater contribution to their families.

Based on the evidence from letters, tapes, and interviews, I conclude that many of the students, teachers, and others in the Sea Island communities were empowered because of the presence of the Citizenship Schools.[3]

The Citizenship Schools, Empowerment, and Appalachia

How can the Citizenship School experience further the goal of empowerment in Appalachian schools and communities? Based on the Citizenship School example, the following conclusions may be drawn. First, people need to become more effective in addressing injustice and oppression in their lives. They, not outsiders, must identify the problems they face such as loss of mineral rights, lack of control over their own land, contaminated water, insufficient health care, and lack of employment opportunities. They must overcome "learned helplessness" and understand that they must work with each other for solutions and not depend on the government or other outsiders to help them. Part of the process of addressing injustice and oppression involves looking not only into the strengths of their own heritage but also for factors within their own families and communities that keep them powerless.

Second, people need to ask questions about the differences between democratic ideals and the realities of society. They need to become more skeptical of promises that are made to them based on the self-interest of others. They need to question who is saying what and why they are saying it. As part of a democracy, they have a right to a good education for their children without sending them to a school two hours away. They have a right to a job. They have a right to clean water and affordable health care. They have a right to a part of the American dream. Accepting "what is" instead of asking "what ought to be" only reinforces the status quo.

Third, people need to act to change society based on universal principles of benefit to all. To be effective, action needs to come from people working together, combining their collective ideas. People may need to attend meetings, interrogate elected officials, write letters, make phone calls, or get involved with their children's school. If residents of Appalachia do not take action, then "reform" will come from the outside and be imposed upon them.

Fourth, and most important, Appalachian schools need courageous teachers if empowerment is to become a reality. Courageous teachers will help students identify problems affecting their lives and show them where to get help for those problems. Courageous teachers will help students realize they have a hand in their own destiny and responsibility for their own lives. Courageous teachers will include stories from the mountains, the history of the people and traditional music as part of the curriculum. Courageous teachers will help students treasure their roots and grow wings at the same time. Courageous teachers will **act** on the democratic ideals they try to instill in their students and not just **talk** about them.

The Appalachian region and the Sea Islands share problems of poverty, exploitation, and lack of good job opportunities. Appalachian schools should address these problems. They can learn from the Citizenship Schools, begun over 30 years ago, that education which questions "what is" (injustice, discrimination and oppression) and aspires to "what ought to be" (dignity, justice and freedom) is education for empowerment.

Endnotes

1 Highlander Folk School was established in 1932 in Monteagle, Tennessee. In 1961 the school lost its charter when the state of Tennessee charged it with selling liquor without a license and violating Tennessee's segregation laws. In 1961 Myles Horton took out a new charter for Highlander Research and Education Center which is located in New Market, Tennessee, 20 miles east of Knoxville.

2 The reports on the number of students who registered range from 14 to 37 (Tjerandsen, 1980; Glen, 1986).

3 For a more detailed discussion of the history, methodology, and effect of the schools, see Oldendorf, S. B. (1987).

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Note: WC refers to the archives at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison. HC refers to the Highlander Research and Education Center Archives in New Market, Tennessee. HFS refers to a Highlander Folk School document. B and F refer to box and folder respectively.

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THE LOWER PRICE HILL COMMUNITY SCHOOL STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE FROM AN APPALACHIAN STREET ACADEMY

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The chronic lack of educational resources coupled with high rates of functional illiteracy and dropping out in many Appalachian counties are well documented realities of life in the region (Appalachian Center, 1985a; 1985b). Less well known but just as devastating is the educational deprivation faced by Appalachians who have migrated to urban areas outside the region (Borman and Mueninghoff, 1983; Berlowitz and Durand, 1977; Wagner, 1973, 1975, & 1977). Our intent in this paper, however, is not simply to describe a deplorable situation, nor is it to propose an all-encompassing solution to the problem. This presentation focuses on the middle ground between the frustration of "ain't it awful" and the smugness of "this is the answer." That ground is occupied by an Appalachian street academy located in a low-income neighborhood on Cincinnati's near west side. The Lower Price Hill Community School is a case study of some practical steps toward achieving modest improvements in educational opportunities for Appalachians.

We will begin with a description of the objective conditions faced by urban Appalachians with particular reference to educational outcomes, followed by an outline of the philosophical and functional background of the Lower Price Hill Community School. We will conclude with an assessment of the school's achievements both on behalf of individuals and in changing the structures that affect educational attainment at the local and state levels. It is our assumption throughout this paper that, although we speak of a specific school in a particular urban setting, our findings have implications for educational policies in both the rural and the urban areas that Appalachians call home.

Urban Appalachians

The great migration of the post-war era brought many Appalachians to urban areas outside the region where they live today with their children and grandchildren. In the Cincinnati metropolitan area first and second generation Appalachian migrants compose about one quarter of the population. They show no differences from the general population in demographic characteristics such as age and sex distributions. As a result of high mobility rates within the general population and the historical peak-time of the Appalachian migration (1955-60), Appalachians have, on average, lived in the Cincinnati area approximately the same number of years as non-Appalachians. But on the key indicators of income, educational attainment, and occupational status, Appalachians form a distinct middle group, between non-Appalachian whites who enjoy high socioeconomic status and blacks who have very low status on each of these indicators (Obermiller, 1987).

To say that Appalachians are poorly served by urban public schools is an understatement. Ethnographic studies of teaching and learning in urban primary and secondary schools have documented the biases of social class and ethnicity faced by urban Appalachian students. These biases are manifest in such routine practices as grouping children for instruction in reading and mathematics, segregating them by perceived ability, retaining students in grade, and administering the drug ritalin to young children labeled as hyperactive. In a study of literacy learning in first grade classrooms in Columbus, Ohio, researchers noted that: "All males from the Appalachian culture who were in the first grade (five classrooms) of the school were repeaters save two students who were daily taking behavior modification medicine. Therefore, it was necessary to select as a subject from the Appalachian culture a child who was repeating the first grade. The selected child's retention had been attributed to prolonged absence during the previous schoolyear" (DeStefano, Pepinsky and Sanders, 1982).

Such practices as grouping and retention in grade have long term effects on student careers. Data for the Cincinnati public schools in 1986 revealed that failure rates were highest for students in the general curriculum track where 30 to 35% of all enrolled students failed classes, compared with 15 to 23% of those enrolled in academic track classes. In addition, the typical general track student took five and a half years to complete four years of high school by being retained in grade. For Appalachian students in Cincinnati's public schools, these practices translate into an intolerable academic environment. Of the ten neighborhoods in Cincinnati with the highest dropout rates, eight are predominantly Appalachian. The average dropout rate for these neighborhoods in 1980 was 44.9%. By comparison, the Appalachian counties of eastern Kentucky had an average 1980 dropout rate of 30.9% (Maloney and Borman, 1987).

The Neighborhood

Lower Price Hill, with 2,155 residents, is a heavily Appalachian neighborhood. Among Cincinnati's 47 statistical neighborhoods it ranked fifth from the bottom in overall socioeconomic status in 1980 when nearly half its eligible population was jobless or out of the labor force. In 1980 average family income in the neighborhood was little over half that of the city-wide average. Over one in five neighborhood residents over the age of twenty-five lacked a high school diploma. With 58% of its youth between the ages of 16 and 19 out of school, Lower Price Hill has the second highest dropout rate in the city (Borman and Spring, 1984; Maloney and Borman, 1987).

The School

The Lower Price Hill Community School was founded in 1972 by residents of the neighborhood concerned about the high rates of illiteracy and school dropouts in their families and community. Staffed by Mennonite volunteers, classes were held in a windowless basement room donated by a local church. Students attended voluntarily, encouraged by the familiar atmosphere of kitchen tables each with its own tablecloth and lamp. In keeping with the homelike atmosphere, the students could eat, drink pop, or smoke while they studied. Attendance was recognized and encouraged but never taken.

The residents who organized the school became its first board members as they drew up a set of bylaws and incorporated the school to ensure its long-term viability. No tuition was charged and the school operated with volunteer teachers, donations, and the occasional rummage sale. Since 1972 the school has enrolled over 2,500 learners and has had over 200 students earn their high school equivalency diploma (GED).

Today the Lower Price Hill Community School is still a one-room school, but the light, airy classroom covers the entire top floor of a former parochial school building located in the center of the neighborhood. In addition to the high school equivalency and basic literacy programs, the school has a two-year college program offered as a satellite project of a local university. In a typical year the school serves 250 students, thirty-five of whom are in the college program, and graduates an average of twenty students with the GED diploma.

Although their reading and math skills are well below the grade levels they attained before dropping out, learners at the community school are intelligent and highly motivated. Some are young mothers, some are women who have raised their families, others are young men seeking basic academic skills, others are older people seeking the rewards of literacy. Regardless of their reasons for attending, most students show a marked improvement in both self-confidence and basic learning skills as they attend the Community School.

Neighborhood residents still hold a majority of the board seats, but over time graduates of the school have replaced its founders on the board. The board now oversees the work of a faculty that includes a full-time teacher/coordinator, a full-time teacher/tutor, four instructors from the university, and a fluctuating group of part-time and volunteer teachers who offer tutoring or classes of special interest to the neighborhood.

Boardmembers in concert with the school's teacher/coordinator are responsible for raising about $75,000 annually. These funds are raised from scratch each year through a city-wide and regional development drive. The school operates on a pay-as-you-go basis, laying off staff or curtailing programs in response to budget shortfalls. A constant concern for the budget notwithstanding, funding or assistance which threatens the school's autonomy is consistently avoided.

Despite its growth over the years, the school has developed no bureaucracy, borrowing or purchasing its secretarial, copying and printing, and phone answering services from a social welfare agency located in the same building. Board and staff recognize that bureaucratic arrangements have a chilling effect on the personal relationships that are essential to maintaining the instructional milieu of the school. Thus, those involved with the school constantly struggle to maintain a relatively "flat" authority structure.

Although teaching and testing techniques are quite up-to-date, learning at the school remains a comfortable and relaxed experience. Informal meals are frequently prepared and served from a kitchen in one corner of the classroom. Small groups of students drinking pop and studying at cloth covered tables is still the norm, although smoking is now relegated to a special area. Teachers move among the students quietly offering advice or responding to questions. Students are known by name and by family, since kinship patterns are one of the key facets of social organization in the neighborhood (Borman, Mueninghoff, and Piazza, forthcoming).

Moving Toward Social Change

The school performs three interrelated functions for its primarily Appalachian constituency. It serves as an education center, a social hub, and a social change agent. Although these functions overlap in practice, we will discuss them in succession for the sake of clarity.

That the school effectively and efficiently meets the educational needs of its constituency is clearly demonstrated by the satisfaction expressed by its current students, by the number of students who have passed the statewide GED examination, and by those students who go on to the college program. Census data reinforce these perceptions; between 1970 and 1980 the percentage of Lower Price Hill residents over the age of twenty-five with high school diplomas rose from 15.1 to 23.3 (Maloney and Borman, 1987).

The school's success in attracting and serving students is a result of neighborhood residents' determination, the staff's dedication, and the students' drive to obtain an education. These strong motivational factors are combined with highly effective teaching methods which take into account the learners' social and cultural backgrounds. These methods include an understanding and respect for the students' cultural heritage, personalized recruiting and teaching techniques, a comfortable and friendly classroom atmosphere, an emphasis on meeting the individual's academic needs through individualized learning strategies, and a sense of accomplishment reinforced by high GED scores and the opportunity to attend college.

A key point here is that the school does not objectify Appalachian culture; no effort is made to teach about Appalachia as such. Rather, a subtle understanding of what it means to be Appalachian infuses everything done at the school. It is a subject freely spoken about but not artificially inserted into the learning process. Appalachian consciousness grows among the students along with their understanding of grammar and their ability in math.

Another important aspect of the school is the students' sense of control. One observer puts it this way: "One benefit [of the school] is that the situation has been pre-screened. Students are not forced to arrive in an unknown situation; they already have an idea of what it is like, and most importantly, they know from someone they know well. Another benefit is that the decision to attend is a decision made among friends rather than a verdict that is handed down to them. In other words, they control whether or not they will go and how often. The control is perceived to be very important to the students" (McCarthy, 1983:127). This self-motivated attendance speaks well of both the school and the learners who use it. More importantly, it reinforces with the students ideas of community power and the local control of institutions.

A second function of the school is to provide some of the basic social opportunities lacking in the neighborhood. It is an informal drop-in center where everyone is seen as a potential learner, whether or not they choose to participate at the study tables. It is the site of cooking and nutrition classes and frequent community meals. The women students who use the school's child care service are encouraged to participate in a local program for mothers and infants; young men from the neighborhood gather at the school weekly to cook supper. The teachers often engage in informal counseling, and work closely with the professional staff of Santa Maria Neighborhood House, a Community Chest sponsored social welfare agency, to aid students in getting appropriate assistance for their problems.

The role of the school as a social hub reflects the students' view of their lives as a web of interconnected concerns and responsibilities. Neighborhood life is not easily divided into separate categories of public and personal issues. The school makes learning more accessible by integrating it with meals, child care, and opportunities to relax, socialize, and discuss mutual concerns. This is a logical extension of the homelike physical environment the school cultivates.

The third function of the school, inducing social change, flows from its roles as educational center and social hub. The board and staff of the school work closely with Appalachian advocacy organizations such as the Urban Appalachian Council and the urban unit of the Appalachian Peoples Service Organization. In alliance with these organizations the school fought for and won basic changes in the State of Ohio's cumbersome procedures for issuing GED certificates. This same coalition is currently campaigning to reduce the fees levied by the state for taking the GED examinations.

While the school supports the legal battles fought by Cincinnati's black community to end segregation in the Cincinnati public schools, it has taken a different tack in response to the high dropout rates among Appalachians in the public school system. Put very simply, the Lower Price Hill Community School is an embarrassment and challenge to the Cincinnati Public School System. The very existence of the school attests to the difficulty Appalachians experience in obtaining an education in urban public schools, and by extension in rural schools as well. Moreover, it stands as a powerful refutation of the belief held by some public school officials who maintain that there is an historical disdain for schooling among Appalachian people.

The Community School's vivid demonstration that Appalachians want and will use effective educational programs challenges the assumptions behind the word "dropout" and introduces the more accurate concept of "pushout" to the public discourse on this issue (see

Berlowitz and Durand, 1977). The Lower Price Hill Community School is a small but critical voice urging the public schools to drop their victim-blaming stance and to introduce effective means of educating minority students.

In addition to deconstructing myths about Appalachians, the school serves as a model for deinstitutionalizing public education. Its minimal bureaucracy and abiding independence are key elements in the school's efficiency and effectiveness. Local control of the school develops the leadership abilities of the neighborhood residents and school graduates serving on the board. Further, the school has served as a model for similar efforts in other communities; to date, it has been replicated in seven other Cincinnati neighborhoods. This small network of community schools provides an example of how decentralized education might work on a larger scale.

The social dimension of the school provides a focal point in the community where residents can not only gain academic skills, but also grow in political awareness. In this sense the school is the medium through which students and other neighborhood residents can become conscious of a common heritage, develop a sense of common issues and concerns, and begin to think together about appropriate responses to these shared experiences. The overall impact of the Community School is difficult to quantify and perhaps all too easy to overstate for those who are involved with it. Nonetheless, the school cannot but help affect future generations of urban Appalachians through its daily service to the parents of those generations. The first graduates of the two-year college program are now pursuing degrees in education and social work at local universities. They will soon add their skills to the struggle for change in the neighborhood and in the schools.

As a social change agent the Lower Price Hill Community School serves as a criticism of broad educational policies, a challenge to the local educational bureaucracy, and a means of raising the abilities and consciousness of its students. It is not an unambiguous success in any of these areas, but however modest its scope, it is a significant departure from the practices and policies of the public schools. As such, it constitutes a radical educational experiment for urban Appalachians.

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APPALACHIAN AND SOUTHERN LITERACY CAMPAIGNS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES IN TWO KEYS

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This paper represents a collaborative effort to develop two historical perspectives on adult illiteracy which may provide a distinctive means for regarding literacy as a contemporary policy issue. Two related and overlapping bodies of research form the basis of this paper.[1] One study has been on the adult literacy programs in the South between 1915 and 1930, with a specific focus on students as consumers of such programs. The second body of research is a more specific case study of the Moonlight Schools of Kentucky, between 1911 and 1920 and their founder Cora Wilson Stewart. Having served two terms as Rowan County School Superintendent, Stewart opened school buildings in the evenings to adults identified as being illiterate, who attended classes taught voluntarily by public school teachers. Because Stewart functioned for two decades as a kind of figurehead of the adult literacy movement in the Southern region, she is represented as an important actor in both studies.

The most striking outcome of our discussions of the history of adult literacy campaigns in the early twentieth century has been the recognition of the multivalent ways to frame questions about adult illiteracy. While there are no doubt numerous approaches or interpretive moves which structure the kinds of questions and answers we ask of literacy, there are two which we wish to display in this paper.

One way to consider literacy is to take it as a given, a natural and descriptive category, under which we discuss our concerns about who is literate, who is not, and how we might evaluate and improve programs which seek to bring literacy to greater numbers.

A second approach to asking questions about literacy is to regard it as socially constructed. This approach would discover its meaning, not in technical terms, but in terms of its use in political discourse as well as its symbolic capital in the social and economic contexts in which it takes hold as a public issue. From this view, literacy can be analyzed, not so much as a birthright, but as a means to certain kinds of social and economic agendas. These approaches to literacy are both necessary for fostering full and serious conversation about literacy historically and in terms of contemporary policy.

The paper is divided in two sections. The first, Adult Students in Southern Literacy Programs, 1915-1930, represents an historical exploration of literacy as a natural category. The second, Literacy As Community, is an example of the consideration of literacy as a social construction. Each section is concluded with a discussion of possible ways to consider current policy questions on literacy, given the particular historical frame through which the analysis has been carried forward.

I. Adult Students in Southern Literacy Programs, 1915-1930

The historian's task in drawing any picture of the world views of students attending literacy schools is made difficult by the fact that illiterates do not leave records. Evidence gathered by reformers themselves is hot to the touch, as Southern literacy workers often wrote and spoke in highly evangelistic terms as a way to encourage funding for the programs. Amazing success stories, miraculous transformations of individuals moving overnight from the illiterate to the literate state, became standard rhetorical fare of literacy workers in the South.

The tendency to rely on numbers of individuals participating tended to mask the severity of the illiteracy problem. A case in point was the adult literacy program in Alabama. A reporter from Culman County, Alabama, reported in 1927 that five of its districts had taught every illiterate person to read and write. The community of Sprott in Perry County, Alabama, reported no white illiterate children between the ages of 10 to 20 years and only one white illiterate adult over twenty years of age. There had been three illiterate adults the summer before, but one had died and one moved away.[2] These reports masked the severity of Alabama's literacy problem. From 1920 to 1930, the census showed a reduction of 26,987 illiterates, leaving 251,095 illiterate adults. Nor could it be assumed that the adult schools had been responsible for much of this reduction. Death and possibly out-migration may have had a greater impact on reducing illiteracy than the adult schools.[3]

Most problematic is the lack of case studies of illiterate adults, including studies of adults who enrolled and those who, for whatever reasons, chose not to enroll in literacy programs. What one finds are impressionistic accounts recorded by promoters; in fact, one suspects that they were included to vindicate the promoters' conceptions of the world which the adult illiterates faced and to support their pleas for financial support.

One knows relatively little about the world view of adult illiterates, especially of those who chose not to enroll in the adult programs. A surface reading of some reports suggests that only a reluctant minority failed to join in the literacy campaigns from 1915 to 1935. Cora Wilson Stewart claimed that in the second session in Kentucky (1912), teachers enrolled 1600 students and that the response to the program was overwhelming:

> There were farmers and farmers' wives, and their grown sons and daughters; there were former school teachers who seized this opportunity to break up the stagnation which had overtaken them; there was the community carpenter, the district blacksmith, the postmaster and his wife, the county doctor, the cross-roads merchant, the mill-owner with his crew of illiterate men, all coming joyously, hopefully in quest of knowledge.[4]

Similar descriptions of successful enrollment came out of Alabama. In 1927 Alabama's State Superintendent reported that twelve Alabama counties had enrolled 3,352 students in schools operated during the lay-by season. Yet, as mentioned previously, once one places enrollment figures in the context of over-all illiteracy, the numbers seem to be somewhat low. At best, the illiteracy programs during the period of 1915-1930 attracted only a small percentage of the target population.

Several reasons may account for the hesitancy of adults to enroll in literacy programs. One factor that helps explain the hesitancy of illiterate adults to enroll in the 1915-1930 era was shame. One student in Alabama stated, "I ain't sorry but for one thing, I'm sorry I ain't been coming all the time, but I was just 'shamed to come."[5] Another woman confided that although she could "read and write a little, but mighty little," her husband "don't know anything." She stated that she was "just crazy for him to learn to read and write" but he was "shame-faced."[6]

Promoters' tactics served to accentuate the sense of shame. Jonathan Kozol has argued that the problem of recruitment lies not with the students but with the recruiters and the programs. Recruitment, he argues, done by middle class outsiders seeking to enroll students in programs whose "goals and rewards...are domesticating in their nature and subordinating in their tone" will always be viewed negatively.[7] Certainly, this criticism fit the early twentieth century programs and recruiters as well. This was especially true when leaders such as Cora Wilson Stewart deliberately sought to stigmatize illiteracy as a cultural and political disease. In 1922, Stewart wrote Dr. Frank Graves, the New York State Commissioner of Education and suggested, "I wonder if you agree with me that we need publicity and the aid of newspapers to stigmatize illiteracy and to awaken the public."[8] Similarly, Alabama's Home Demonstration Agents received a memo in which the illiterates were depicted as a "bad enough stigma on the fair name of the state," and the illiterates of the future were "our disgrace."[9]

Despite these efforts to stigmatize the adult illiterates, there were instances where teachers and promoters sought to alleviate the students' apprehension and feelings of inferiority. At times, students who were ashamed to enter a school received instruction in their home. Revised curricula included vocational subjects beyond reading and writing, thereby increasing enrollments by attracting partially literate students and making it less of a stigma for non-literates to attend.

Those students who did enroll, did so for various reasons, expressing different needs for and attitudes toward literacy.[10] Some expressed needs that reinforced the promoters' world view. They fit the stereotype of an individual afflicted with a disease called illiteracy, deeply embarrassed, wishing for a cure. One Alabama participant, when asked if the program had been worthwhile, replied, "Yes, one man learned to read and write his name. He felt so proud."[11] Cora Wilson Stewart listed as one reason why adults enrolled as "to escape from the shame of making my mark."[12] In South Carolina, one male student stated, "Now I feel like a MAN when I go to the store and write a check for a bill."[13]

Others, it would seem, viewed literacy more in instrumental than in intrinsic terms. The problem of illiteracy was not so much that it engendered a feeling of shame as that it was an obstacle to the achievement of certain goals. For some, there was the desire to be able to read and write so that they could mark their own ballot. For others, it was the need to transact simple business. One fifty-two-year-old black male said that, as long as he was illiterate, he often felt he was being cheated when transacting business. Learning to read and write brought with it happiness, since he was no longer forced "to take the other fellow's count." Similarly, two men stated that they wanted to learn to read and write so that they could sign mortgage papers for themselves. Still others cited their desire to read the Bible and to read and write letters.[14]

Sometimes this need did not become apparent until the illiterate adult was thrust into a new situation. One mother experienced this when her daughter left home to study at Hampton Institute and she had to wait for someone to read letters from her daughter and to write back. For another, the new situation was his wife's death; during their forty years of marriage, he had relied upon her to write the letters, but now that she was dead, he decided to enroll in order to "learn how to write to my children." America's entry into World War I also created a new situation, prompting both servicemen and civilians to enroll in adult literacy programs in part to enable them to read and write letters.[15]

As for others, their motivations did not fall clearly into any one of the above categories. A case in point was the prison literacy work. Presumably, some 2700 prisoners were taught to read and write over a seven-year period in Kentucky's State Reformatory and Penitentiary. However, part of the prisoners' desire to learn to read and write may be attributed to outside pressure since the State Prison Board passed a resolution making literacy a condition of parole.[16]

A tentative analysis of the adult students themselves appears to confirm Kenneth Levine's argument that students buy into or reject programs for different reasons. Levine describes these types of students as having instrumental, mastery, or personal orientations. The instrumentally oriented students view literacy in affectively neutral terms; they pursue it in order to fulfill some personal goal such as a change in employment. They do not cherish it for recreational reasons, nor do they perceive illiteracy to be a great handicap or shame. The mastery-oriented individuals view literacy as a means to an end, but the objective is often not clear. For example, they may suddenly have been exposed to a new situation where the lack of literacy was embarrassing. The personal-oriented adults, of all three groups, feel most keenly the stigma attached to illiteracy. They have internalized feelings of guilt and shame and have spent much energy in masking their inability to read.

Obviously, these different groups do not all respond equally to the same appeals, nor, as Levine argues, to the same type of teachers.[17] Yet, it appears that much of the contemporary literature, like the standard accounts in the early twentieth century, tends to portray the illiterate (or functionally illiterate today) adults as a monolithic group, as all experiencing identical feelings of horror and shame.

Reports on contemporary programs make it very clear that only a small percentage of the targeted population enroll in adult education programs. Thus it would appear that, just as in the early twentieth century South, we have not been successful in attracting many adult functional illiterates to literacy programs. Several questions need to be raised in this regard. Do we have viable models of public persuasion, or marketing, which have been successful in reaching the target population? Are there perhaps a significant number of functional illiterates who are coping adequately, who do not feel any great inner void and shame? In other words, should we seek to "fix" those people who seemingly do not need fixing? The latter point is not meant to romanticize a "child of nature," but rather to raise questions relative to the manner in which the discourse on illiteracy has been framed.

II. Literacy as Community

This section represents an ongoing effort to interpret "literacy" conceptually, in terms of its political capital within the broader social and economic contexts in which it has appeared in public discourse. It is not concerned with the evaluation of literacy programs nor with the causes of adult illiteracy, but is an occasion to notice the ways in which "literacy," as a bracketed notion, seems to acquire meaning in political speech.[18]

The research suggests that literacy, as an issue, works in relationship to our need as a nation, region, and/or state to invent or to recover commonality or, perhaps more accurately, a sense of community. As we negotiate and reckon with the deeply laden conflicts internal to our nation (or state or region), which emerge more emphatically during times of greater change, we seek through our public discourse and action to imagine ourselves as whole, or to imagine ourselves, within geographical boundaries, as one. The word community is used here in the broadest sense. Literacy, as a reform issue, seems to draw a collected body of diverse individuals into an imagined togetherness, developed here as both national and local community.[19]

This section is organized around the hope that it will help raise questions for individuals concerned with policy issues of education in Appalachia. It also is concerned with a conceptual understanding of the politics of literacy in a larger national sense. However, this distinction should not obscure the fact that our interpretation of Appalachia, the region, as early as the late nineteenth century, has historically been tied to a collective interpretation of the meaning of America, the nation. Henry Shapiro has shown us that Appalachians' isolation from the rest of the country is what made them seem such a "peculiar people" to late nineteenth century missionaries. Because of their lack of roads, commercial intercourse, and strong institutions of social control, the mountaineers were cut off from the culture of modern America. The problems outsiders saw with mountaineers' dress, manners, morals, and music were often attributed to the population's "absence of the spirit of cooperation."[20] The nineteenth century missionary imagined that his attempts to transplant urban institutions of social control into the mountains would result in the creation of "community." In this view, community became a matter of institutionally extending the region's fingertips so they touched and became part of larger America. Creating community, then, meant making Appalachia more like America writ large.

Around 1900, benevolent workers in Appalachia began to see the region as an "incomplete version of itself" rather than an incomplete version of America. It was at this time that categories of regionalism and pluralism began to be used to describe American variations in locale and culture. A region acknowledged previously for its "peculiar people" who were "behind the times" now began to be considered as a discrete region with its own self-legitimating culture.

The point here is that a tension has historically existed between, on the one hand, interpretations of Appalachia as a region with its own distinct culture and, on the other, interpretations which see it as an incomplete, perhaps even deformed, version of what the nation should be. Therefore, in the discussions of literacy from a national perspective or from an Appalachian perspective, it should be understood that one bears strongly and inescapably upon the other.

Literacy as Membership Card

To be literate in the world envisioned by Cora Wilson Stewart meant to be a card-carrying member of a particular American dream. We might, under this heading, view literacy, in terms of its rhetorical capital, as working in the service of imagining, inventing, or recovering community. At the time Stewart started the first Moonlight Schools in 1911, the country was completing its transformation to an industrial economy, where what Daniel Rodgers has called the "metaphor of system" had become an inescapable symbol of progress.[21] Like many other middle-class Southern reformers, Stewart was concerned about ways to make the region a vibrant, participating partner in the national economy. The "New South" vision for prosperity symbolized the hope for inclusion into this national community.[22] But, if some were able to anticipate that the realization of the "New South" might mean the enrichment of a few at the expense of the many -- expressed in terms of child labor, theft of mineral rights through the broad form deed, the establishment of company towns, and the absorption of small landholders into the wage labor force -- others, like Cora Wilson Stewart, imagined it as an opportunity to fulfill long-held expectations of the American dream, to provide the conditions for a universally shared comfortable life.

But imagining such a community made it necessary to accommodate a vision of how the people of a region, characterized by a barter economy, physical isolation, and illiteracy could become more like the reformers themselves. This would mean imbuing Appalachians with values of thrift and a grasp of the importance of participating in the national economy; a respect for science and efficiency; an understanding of the twentieth century relationship between the citizen and the state; and the emulation of middle-class behavioral norms. Learning to read was a metaphor for becoming a member of the culture and economy, as envisioned by the middle class. Reading meant participation in the rules of a new society of efficiency, whose social cohesion was dependent upon its members trading in a common language. Literacy, like currency, had value as a kind of concrete, manifest symbol of an imagined national community. One particular passage from an undated speech made by Stewart, sums up these relationships with startling economy:

> In these most illiterate sections, conditions approach the barbaric. Marriage has no sanctity whatever and commerce is carried on through barter and trade as when America was roamed over by savage Indians. Sex morality is rare in densely illiterate regions. An exchange of wives for the weekend is a practice carried on in certain of these localities. Here, the currency of the country is an unknown medium of exchange, neither silver, gold nor paper money being in circulation anywhere within their precincts. It is needless to add that where the currency of the country does not circulate, none of its progressive ideas will penetrate or its plans for human or national welfare prevail.[23]

Literacy, then, was a bridge between two groups who shared little in common, a way to dream a collective ideal in a common language. As an instrument, literacy was meant to groom the eastern Kentucky Appalachian population for membership in the national community.

Probably no more clear example of this grooming function exists than the three volumes of Country Life Readers, which Stewart wrote for adult students learning to read.[24] These readers appropriately reflect the agenda which the reformers saw as the hope for a cohesive national culture, such that they could have been entitled An Appalachian's Guide to an American Dream. The culture of commerce was taught through lessons on banking, check writing, and how to read newspapers to know when to sell farm products. Several lessons, by emphasizing scientific agriculture and domestic science. illustrated the importance of embracing science rather than superstition and folk wisdom.

Such lessons, presented as brief conversations or narratives, often ended with character assassinations of those who would reject science as salvation. (One lesson, for example, concluded that a farmer who did not observe the scientific methods of soil preservation was "shiftless and lazy." Another told of a wife whose sick husband nearly died because of her ignorance in preparing food in a way prescribed by an attending physician. Her womanly reputation and her husband's life were saved by a neighbor who gave her a lesson in domestic science which emphasized reading recipes from books as opposed to cooking in ways passed down through folk wisdom.)

Other sections of the Country Life Readers, reflected the symbiotic relationship between the citizen and the state, linking, for example, observance of compulsory school laws to material prosperity and emphasizing social benefits accruing to the taxpayer. Finally, given the importance of middle class behavioral norms of personal style, taste and presentation, Stewart included lessons on such things as proper table manners, and tasteful colors to paint one's homestead.

Her Readers could be "read" then, as a set of instructions for Appalachian adults on how to "belong" to a particular interpretation of the nation, an interpretation which placed great faith in science and the state as rational non-partisan solutions to social problems, while eclipsing interpretations of America as divided by social class or race. The ability to read, then, was not a technical matter of putting words together arbitrarily, but of combining them to make particular meanings in the service of specific national visions.

If such lessons in the "common language" were meant to help isolated rural adults understand how to "belong" to America, Stewart, as a kind of mediator between the mountain subculture and America writ large, also represented the position that America had lots of good reasons to welcome Appalachians into its arms. If native-born Progressives had dreamed of a common culture, they also were threatened by the diversity of foreign cultures and ideas imported with the large waves of Southern and Eastern European immigrants at the turn of the century.

It was this very threat which Stewart addressed in her arguments that Southern mountaineers were a lot worth saving. Stewart told an audience of southern educators in 1911 that mountaineers were in a unique position to infuse the region, indeed the nation, with hope and commercial productivity. Central to this argument was the notion of racial purity. Because the mountain white had "preserved the purity of his Anglo-Saxon blood," he carried genetic baggage which destined him for greatness. Indeed, she made ample use of the Anglo-Saxon origins and rural isolation of mountaineers in Kentucky to argue that the mountaineer had, nationally speaking, the greatest potential for redemption, because of his rural innocence and racial purity. Comparing him to what she saw as the substandard European immigrant, she told her audience: "His intellect has never been weakened by wines or dissipating narcotics; his perceptions have never been dulled by the glitter and glare and rush of a money-made world, and his blood has never been infused with the sluggish, impure blood of alien races."[25]

Because of the relatively small numbers of immigrants flowing into Kentucky at the time, one might imagine that Stewart's speech may not have been all that emphatic in its will to denounce them. This is a good place to point up the use of language in creating community; Stewart spoke with disregard for immigrants not so much because they represented a threat to native white culture in Kentucky, but because talking of the threat of immigrants within the context of visions of the American dream was a good way to show one's participation in it.

After World War I, Stewart made more pointed arguments about the importance of literacy as a way of teaching a particular interpretation of American life and to protect that interpretation from more class-conscious views. A pamphlet prepared by Stewart for the Kentucky Illiteracy Commission's "whirlwind" speaking campaign of 1918 contained lists of facts and compelling subtopics which Stewart felt would give orators enlisted in the campaign a common set of rhetorical assumptions, as they went their separate ways to localities throughout the state. Included in this speaker's pamphlet was a list of the evils of illiteracy; the fifth of these stated: "It means a lack of patriotism. It is among the ignorant and the illiterate that Bolshevism thrives. To hold our place of world leadership and our condition of national greatness and prosperity we must educate."[26]

Years later, when Stewart continued to have some influence upon adult literacy programs in Kentucky through her national work in targeting prison populations, she drew up a pamphlet circulated in the state which carried through the theme of literacy as a bulwark against leftist ideas. A man seated on a cell bench, eyes downcast, is pictured with this caption:

> Unable to read or write, he sits in his prison cell and stares at the floor and the bare walls. He gropes in darkness and despair. Perhaps he feels that he has not had a chance. He is in a mood to listen to Communists and perhaps to become a permanent part of the criminal class.[27]

Under Stewart's direction then, the adult literacy crusade in the early twentieth century revolved around a picture of America's future which embraced the Progressive's faith in regulated social change and which presented literacy as a means to obscure, soften, or cover the sounds of class conflict.

Literacy and the "Community Awakening": The Amplification of Public School Reform

> The movement has changed the mountaineer's entire view of life and has put them in touch with the thought of the world. One little

boy said, "Since mamma learned to read and write I have to go to school everyday."[28]

--Cora Wilson Stewart, c. 1918

In 1911, when the Moonlight Schools were begun in Kentucky, southern reformers, with the backing of northern capital and leadership, had been engaged for several years in a public campaign to persuade their respective states to adopt legislation for compulsory school attendance, the professionalization of teaching, and more centralized school decision-making. Given Stewart's background as public school teacher and county school superintendent, she was, from the beginning of the adult literacy crusade, tied inextricably to this ongoing public school campaign.

The historical record shows widespread comment from both local and state school leaders on how important the Moonlight Schools had become as a way to "awaken" communities to the need for public school reform. At a time when the agenda of public school reformers was being thwarted to some degree by local resistance to the added local tax burden and to compulsory school laws, symbols which provided occasions for consensus rather than division carried significant weight in political currency.

During the first two decades in which the reform agenda was being put into place, when Kentucky's county superintendents reported favorably about their work, they did so by invoking the language of community. Frequently pointed to as agents of the awakening community spirit were corn and canning clubs, School Improvement Leagues, and the Moonlight Schools. The observance of compulsory attendance laws by parents was the most common measure of the "community awakening," as local school leaders termed the success of their evangelism. Almost uniformly, county superintendents evaluated the adult literacy movement, on the local level, in light of its power to effect a noticeable increase in children's attendance in the day schools.

Clay County School Superintendent Luther Hatton's view of adult literacy as only a marginal result of the Moonlight School movement was typical: "Teaching an adult to read a little and perhaps write his name," he wrote, "is no very great thing, but when you have taught him enough to interest him in his child's welfare, you have added untold wealth to the Commonwealth."[29] County Superintendent Nora Alcorn, in making the same point, acknowledged a sense of guilty discomfort that the daytime public school should be the prime recipient of work in the adult evening classes: "We consider that the beneficial effect that these schools have upon the day school in interest and encouraging attendance and in securing cooperation of the patrons well repays the teacher for this extra effort if one should consider it from a selfish standpoint."[30]

The Kentucky Illiteracy Commission which Stewart chaired was short-lived, having been in existence only from 1914 to 1920. The KIC and the Moonlight Schools they engendered had come on the heels of two dramatic decades of reform legislation; essentially they had erected the scaffolding of Kentucky's modern public school system, which reformers considered basic to the visions of economic development of the South.

As the problem had often been framed, "The South is poor, because the schools are poor, because the South is poor." A vicious circle had been perceived by reformers in which poverty begot ignorance, which begot resistance to schools, which begot more poverty and ignorance. They saw successive generations reinfecting one another with the illiteracy disease. Reformers yearned for some divine intervention which they hoped would make "believers" out of adults, who would perhaps then be more inclined to support school reform.

Within this framework, Stewart and her work represented the needed stunning symbol: ". . . is there one so foolish as to believe," she asked an audience of clubwomen, "that when a parent has been redeemed from such a bondage, has tasted his freedom and lost his shame that he will permit that shame to fasten itself upon his children?"[31] Literacy then, had become sacred ground, such that to turn away from it, in the shape of public school reform, was to turn from duty. That is to say, to turn discussions about compulsory attendance and local taxation into questions about literacy, was to muffle the sound of resistance to centralized school control while amplifying the more harmonious call to community responsibility.

The essential point here, relative to a meditation on public policy concerning adult illiteracy, is that language matters; that the specific characteristics of public discourse become pictures of the way actions and policies are carried out; and that, specific to this argument, public speech about illiteracy amplifies a public (meaning one sector of the public) desire to recreate a cohesive sense of community and to muffle interpretations of those problems which may threaten that sense of cohesion.

If, in the early twentieth century, adult literacy programs represented a linguistic bridge between a rural mountain culture and a middle-class urban culture, which would in turn serve the hope for a commonly held reading of American society, how might this help us to see how current public discourse fans the passions, to read contemporary American society in a common language? As we have seen, the literacy campaign in Appalachia in the early twentieth century, for which Cora Wilson Stewart acted as spokesperson, was fuelled by two aspects of discourse which centered on community.

One aspect was to talk in ways which encouraged a picture of community by embracing Appalachians into the fold of this larger community, while turning away from oral culture. Stewart argued that Appalachians, viewed as natural resources -- or even cultural and ideological armaments against the "other," the alien-- ought to be cultivated as a means of protecting this attenuated definition of community -- that is to say, one composed of a "nativist" (e.g. conserving) ideology and lifestyle. Literacy in Cora Wilson Stewart's day, then, became a movement for both creating community and protecting it.

A preliminary reading of contemporary public discourse suggests that concerns about literacy rest, at least in part, on anxieties about threats to our sense of community, perceived primarily in economic terms. That is, in the late twentieth century, we hear a public voice which is anxious about wobbling economic structures.[32] So that now, we are not so much concerned about creating economic community, as preserving and protecting the one we have against outside threat.

On the fourth of July in 1987, ABC sponsored a three-hour extravaganza, "A Star Spangled Celebration," which sought a discursive link between liberty and literacy by mixing celebrations of national independence, with testimonials and indirect appeals for funds in order to "call attention to the fight against illiteracy." This documentary and "celebration" are part of a larger project called PLUS (Project Literacy United States) which began in December of 1985 as a joint public service campaign of ABC and PBS.

The plan calls for national broadcasting in cooperation with local affiliates who would be "helping to mobilize all available local resources and bring community task forces into existence for a concerted effort to deal with the illiteracy problem."3[3] The publicly distributed brochure for PLUS links its agenda to the Reagan administration's 1983 call for a "National Literacy Initiative" which, having no legislation or funding attached, was meant to stimulate private sector activity in this area.

One highly visible and comprehensive PLUS effort to stir nationwide concern for adult illiteracy was the ABC News "Close Up," with Peter Jennings in September of 1986, called "At A Loss for Words: Illiterate America." Let us consider the following exchange from the transcript of that documentary:

> Jennings [voice over]: The study found that, given a store receipt, 28% [of marginally illiterate Americans] could not make change. Fundamental illiteracy is now jeopardizing the American economy.
>
> William Brock, Secretary of Labor: There's a $2 trillion market in the world. That's ours, that's ours, all we have to do is go out there and grab it. We're not going to grab it if we can't read and write. We can't.
>
> Jennings [voice over]: Illiteracy and low literacy could also jeopardize America's national security. Almost a third of young men eligible for the Army are unfit, because of low literacy.
>
> Jim Cates, director Literacy Project, University of Texas: It's my firm conviction that the United States faces no greater threat to our national security, or to our continued dominant position in the world community, than having such a tremendous percentage of our fellows functionally illiterate.[34]

If we can assume that first words and opening scenes are among the most important of a completed text, then this exchange, which comes at the first page of the script, carries no insignificant weight as a bellwether of contemporary discourse on literacy. What are we being asked to believe in these few televised moments of pieces of separate conversations, spliced expressly to make a particular persuasive point? To begin with, the conversation proceeds on the assumption of an understood "our." These words, used in conjunction with phrases and words like "economy," "national security" and "dominant position in the world community," presume a consensus on the nature of a specifically "American" desire.

In other contexts, we could imagine an ABC news broadcast or documentary to be emphasizing, even celebrating, a complex pluralistic American character. But, here, in a broadcast of the relationship between literacy and national security, the agenda of a nationally imagined community is offered as a natural category, as if it should be as plain and inevitable as the nose on one's face. With this matter thus "settled," it is possible to invoke pleas for community involvement for the eradication of illiteracy. This discourse represents a particular kind of packaging. There are certain turns we would not expect Peter Jennings to take up at this juncture.

For example, this would not be an occasion on which he might discuss or interview citizens who would consider a "continued dominant position in the world community" by the United States to be a repugnant aspiration by virtue of its imperialist valences. Nor would this be an occasion on which to wonder about the possibility that some persons living in the United States may frame their community allegiances much differently. That is, some may consider their project more in planetary than nationalist terms. Others may find themselves defined more fully in terms of intellectual communities, or perhaps those based on gender or race or religion.

The point here is to raise the issue about the relationship between language, literacy, and nationalism. To form this into a question, we might ask: What is it about the concept of literacy which enabled both the reformer Cora Wilson Stewart and ABC to invoke monolithi pictures of what it means to be in national community?

The early twentieth century literacy campaign in Kentucky illustrated the way in which the Moonlight School was valued locally, for its role in "awakening" communities to the need for school reform. What, in fact, made local school leaders happiest about the Moonlight Schools was their positive effect on enforcement of compulsory attendance laws. The early literacy movement came at the tail end of a decade of evangelical effort on the part of Southern reformers to build the framework of our modern public school system.

Because such measures meant the increased centralization of school decision-making, greater local tax burdens, and compulsory school laws, local resistance was inescapable. The introduction into public discourse of the fact of adult illiteracy, used as a tragic symbol of the region's failure in public schooling, helped legitimize the legislative changes under discussion.

Similarly, the current literacy movement comes on the heels of the Reagan-era "Back to Basics" movement to reform public schools. The current public school reform debate has centered on issues of economic strength and international competition. It is often framed in terms of making schools more technically accountable, reflected perhaps best in a religious belief in computer literacy, higher math skills, and pressure for teacher accountability. Teacher resistance to forced state testing as a means to creating the image of accountability has represented one of the deepest rifts in the public debate on school reform. The contemporary example of public discourse on literacy suggests its continuing potential as an emblem of failure, amplifying the urgency of public school reform, while glossing over that which would threaten community. This use of adult illiteracy to call attention to public school reform is stated baldly in the Project Literacy USA "White Paper:"

> The problems of public education have been, and will continue to be, addressed in television news coverage; however, these problems are too multi-faceted, complex, and controversial to be the subject of a national public service campaign. Any attempt at this would probably create insurmountable difficulties having to do with advocacy, fairness, and equal time. However, a major national campaign that raises consciousness about illiteracy may reverberate with beneficial effect within the educational establishment and prevailing societal attitudes towards the schools."[35]

It seems then, that the ethos of adult illiteracy, framed, as the pitiful father awkwardly attempting to read his daughter a child's story, as seen in recent television ads, is a raw and final representation of the consequence of failed public schools. Literacy as a primordial birthright is invoked to pivot toward the possibility of agreement and away from the more unsettling questions about the relationship between school and society.

III. Conclusions

Conclusions, at least in some quarters, are occasions for final words. But in this instance, the conclusion proposes a beginning. By virtue of organizational structure, the paper has aspired to package questions about literacy in two different ways. This meditation on ways to ask can be taken as one way to begin for those interested in considering the issue of adult literacy as a contemporary policy issue.

One form of questioning posits literacy as a given and from there, ponders the efficacy of early twentieth century Southern literacy programs, using impressionistic accounts of student and promoter world views. Given low student enrollments, this line of questioning raises concerns about the fit between the public pitch to attract students to such programs, and the varying ways that students themselves perceived the gravity of their own illiteracy. Promoters of literacy programs spoke of illiteracy often as a stigma or a disgrace, and indeed it was a sense of shame and disgrace which motivated some students to attend classes. But, the anecdotal evidence suggests there were many students whose opinions of their own illiteracy were not steeped in such a pathetic ethos. Rather, such students had instrumental or mastery orientations to illiteracy, from which they saw literacy as a means to an end, not a characteristic to assimilate for its own sake. Questions, then, which seek to evaluate literacy programs through the examination of the fit between promoters' and students' perceptions of illiteracy may be of use in considering literacy outreach programs.

Questions which consider literacy programs in the context of change from an oral, subsistence culture to one characterized by literacy and industrialization, provide another door through which to contemplate the meaning of adult illiteracy. In this sense, literacy is seen not as a natural essence, but as an emblem through which communities are imagined. To wonder this way in terms of contemporary concerns about adult illiteracy, would be to ask why, at this particular juncture has adult illiteracy taken hold as a public issue? Why does the issue of literacy seem to figure as such a controlling metaphor in discussions of the protection of national community? Or, in other words, given choices of explanations for a threatened national economy (e.g. among them, the trade deficit, federal deficit spending, overspending on defense, multinational corporations with extra-national allegiances), why does literacy emerge so convincingly?

Endnotes

1. The work on the Southern literacy campaigns, 1915-130, has been an ongoing project of Harvey Neufeldt, with James Akenson. The case study of Cora Wilson Stewart, the adult literacy campaign in Kentucky between 1911 and 1920, as well as the interest in literacy as a social construction are the work of Florence Estes.

2. William F. Feagin, First Report of the Alabama Illiteracy Commission (Montgomery, AL: Brown Printing Co., 1916), p. 82, State of Alabama, Annual Report...1927, pp. 104-106.

3. James Akenson and Harvey Neufeldt, "A Southern Campaign Against Illiteracy: The Adult Opportunity School in Alabama, 1915-1935," unpublished paper presented at the Southern History of Education Society, Atlanta, Georgia, March 17, 1983.

4. Cora Wilson Stewart, Moonlight Schools for the Emancipation of Adult Illiterates (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1922) pp. 38-42.

5. State of Alabama, Annual Report . . . 1927, p. 104.

6. Feagin, First Report of the Alabama Illiteracy Commission, p. 78.

7. Jonathan Kozol, Illiterate America (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1985) pp. 45-46.

8. Letter, Cora Wilson Stewart to Frank Graves, June 2, 1922, in Cora Wilson Stewart Papers, Special Collections, M.I.King Library, University of Kentucky (hereinafter cited as CWS papers) Box 19; folder - Boston Conferences, July 4-5, 1922.

9. Mrs. Frank L. Thomas to Alabama Home Demonstration Agents, Memo, in CWS Papers, Box 29; folder - Alabama Clubs.

10. Different types of illiterate adults in contemporary western societies are discussed in Kenneth Levine, The Social Context of Literacy (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986) pp. 118-22. Our discussion here is indebted to Levine's analysis.

11. Akenson and Neufeldt, "A Southern Campaign Against Illiteracy."

12. Stewart, Moonlight Schools, p. 18; Wil Lou Gray Papers, University of South Carolina, Box 1, Special Collections, folder 8 (Hereinafter cited as WLG Papers).

13. Feagin, First Report of the Alabama Illiteracy Commission, pp. 47, 86-91; Report of Adult School Work, Saluda, S.C., September 10, 1923, in W.L. Gray Papers, Box 1, folder 25; State Dept. of Public Instruction, "Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina and its Plan for Elimination," 1915, p. 22.

14. Mary F. McDavid, "Ways by Which Illiterate Adults Are Taught," Southern Workman, 61 (February, 1932): 82-87; Stewart, Moonlight Schools, pp. 8193; Kentucky Illiteracy Commission, Moonlight School Course of Study, Patriotic Number, 1918 in Cora Wilson Stewart Papers, Box 66.

15. Stewart, Moonlight Schools, pp. 115-119.

16. Ibid.

17. Levine, Social Context of Literacy, p. 118-22.

18. The interest in considering literacy here, from the point of view of social construction, is an emergine one, and can be tied to numerous sources. Some of these would include: Richard Rorty, Consequences of Pragmatism, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Thomas Kuhn Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Second Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), especially Chapter 5, "The Fictions of Factual Representation;" Michel Foucault, "The Discourse on Language," in The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); and Richard Angelo, "A Sense of Occasion" (Essay Review of R. Freeman Butts, Public Education in the U.S., and of Geraldine Clifford, The Shape of American Education), in History of Education Quarterly (Fall, 1981): 347-365.

19. See Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Thetford, Norfolk: Thetford Press, 1983) for a provocative discussion about the relationship between print capitalism and the imagination of community, expressed as nationalism.

20. Henry Shapiro, Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

21. Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism" in Reviews in American History (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

22. There are several helpful books for placing the literacy movement in the context of regional social and econmic change. On the Appalachian region, see Ronald D Eller, Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982) and David E. Whisnant, Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, Power and Planning in Appalachia (Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1980). For considering the Southern region in the Progressive period, see Dewey Grantham, Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983) and C.

Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South: 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971).

23. CWS Papers, Box 52 "Illiteracy in the United States," (undated manuscript), p. 3.

24. Cora Wilson Stewart, Country Life Readers, First Book, p. 16.

25. Address of Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart before the Southern Educational Association, Houston, Texas, December 1, 1911, p. 5.

26. CWS Papers, Box 64, Kentucky Illiteracy Commission, State-Wide Educational Campaign Data for Speakers (undated manuscript, c. 1918).

27. CWS Papers, Box 64 "Behind Iron Bars Mentally as Well as Physically," (undated pamphlet).

28. CWS Papers, Box 52, "Moonlight Schools," (undated manuscript, c. 1918).

29. Luther Hatton, Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1915, p. 261.

30. Nora Alcorn, Biennial Report of the SPI, 1915, p. 299.

31. Cora Wilson Stewart, Moonlight Schools p. 162.

32. See for example Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment and the Dismantling of Basic Industry (New York: Basic Books, 1982) and John C. Raines, Lenora E. Berson and David Gracie (eds) Community and Capital in Conflict: Plant Closings and Job Loss (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

33. Project Literacy United States, White Paper (New York: December, 1985).

34. Transcript, ABC News Close-Up: "At A Loss for Words: Illiterate America," aired September 3, 1986.

35. PLUS, White Paper, p. 12.♦

PARENTS AND TEACHERS: CAN HOME AND SCHOOL LITERACY BOUNDARIES BE BROKEN?

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Parents are the first teachers of their children. In the five years before formal schooling begins the family is the greatest influence upon the child's socialization process. Parent's, siblings, and in some instances extended family members, all provide early experiences which promote what the family values in all aspects of its existence. Family values touch every part of a young child's growth and development: physical, emotional, cultural, social, spiritual, psychological, and intellectual.

During the preschool years a child's intellectual learning primarily evolves from the family and home context. Social interaction with family members is seen as crucial, not only to the child's language development, but to the child's development of thinking (Bruner, 1983; Vygotsky, 1978).

In their own ways family members arrange speech encounters through which young children learn how to make their own communicative intentions clear and thus penetrate the intentions of others. The simple daily routines of eating, diaper changing, bathtime and bedtime, peek-a-boo games, nursery rhymes, and reading children's books can draw the children into conversational routines. These formats become so ritualized that young children soon anticipate and then initiate them with caregivers. "Humans still have to learn to use language and the only way they can learn is by using it communicatively," (Bruner, 1983). Communicative intent within the family is thus successively transformed among members into increasingly powerful linguistic procedures, including, at a later stage of literacy, the procedures of reading and writing.

Family Literacy

Family literacy traces its roots to the areas of language and cognitive development. The child's world is a "universe of discourse" consisting of all aspects of literacy: speaking, listening, reading, writing, and thinking (Moffett, 1968). Within the family, sharing literacy is an ongoing, socio-cultural process. Parents do not implement formal literacy lessons in the same way that teachers make daily lesson plans for children in the classroom; yet, parents and other family members constantly teach literacy knowledge to children within the context of their everyday lives (Durkin, 1966; Clark, 1976; Bissex, 1980; Taylor, 1983; Heath, 1984).

> A child is not an empty vessel when he enters school; he comes replete with a set of abstractions about the world and himself, some of which he may have acquired from others but some of which he generated himself from his own experience (Miffed, 1968).

Children actively construct literacy knowledge. Rather than mirrors reflecting life and learning, they are active artists whose images of reality are portraits or reconstructions of their world and not merely copies of it (Elkind, 1981). They use language and thus literacy as a means of organizing a representation of the world and that representation so created constitutes the world they operate in and becomes the basis of all predictions by which they set the course of their lives (Britton, 1970). The language and literacy of home accompanies the child to school. Vice versa, the language and literacy of the school enters the family literacy context through the child.

Once formal schooling begins, family literacy contexts often assume a role that is peripheral to formal school literacy instruction. The professional teacher assumes primary responsibility for the child's literacy learning. Teachers and parents recognize boundaries between the formal literacy learning taking place at school and the more informal family support of literacy knowledge in the home. Thus, the school becomes the place where "real" literacy knowledge is learned; the home is a secondary environment for the acquisition of such knowledge. A problem then evolves for many parents in that the family context is often not seen as an important, if not crucial, literacy knowledge arena.

> The sad irony is that education for the majority of children will only be successful when there is trust, accountability, and responsibility shared between families, communities, and schools. Being aware of the power and significance of families does not mean that schools should not be held accountable for teaching children. Rather the opposite -- once school personnel begin to value the significant place of families in the educational process, they will feel more responsible to the communities they serve and to the children they teach. Once teachers become more cognizant of the forms and styles of learning within families, education may be seen more holistically and the medium and message of school can be designed to be adoptive to the values and idiom of community life. (Lightfoot, 1981)

In the early school years children are constantly shifting between the formal school literacy context and the informal family context. Specific and incidental literacy experiences may occur in both environments. The child may be put in the position of prime communicator between the teacher and parents. A teacher may or may not include parents in their child's school literacy development. Parents may or may not attempt to support their child's growth in reading and writing at home.

Cultural Influences on Literacy Developments

Ethnographic researchers have explored the social dynamics of family literacy contexts within cross-cultural populations. Heath (1983) attempted to answer the question: "What were the effects of preschool home and community environments in the learning of those language structures and uses which were needed in classrooms and job settings?" She completed her research in three different communities: Roadville, Trackton, and Townspeople. Roadville was a white, Appalachian, working class community made up of textile workers who were formerly farmers. The Townspeople were the mainstream school-oriented community. Children from the first two communities were unsuccessful in school; yet both communities placed a high value on success in school. Both were literate communities in the sense that the residents of each were able to read printed and written materials, and on occasion they produced written messages.

There were radical differences among the three communities in the ways in which children and adults interacted during preschool years. In Trackton, children "learned to talk" while in Roadville and among the townspeople, adults "taught them to talk". Upon entry to school, children had to learn to select, hold and retrieve content from books and other written or printed texts in accordance with their community's rules or "ways of talking" and the children's learning followed community paths of language socialization. Heath posited that the ways of talking employed in the school may, in turn, build directly on the preschool development, may require substantial adaption on the part of the children, or may even seem directly counter to aspects of the community's pattern. Attempting to teach children from language or ethnic minorities to use reading in middle-class ways promoted egalitarianism and homogeneity. Simultaneously, it often denied the children's home context and estranged them from the origins. However, to accept and extend the literacy patterns of the home honored and promoted cultural diversity. Success in this vein may decrease the compliance of some children with mainstream ways, but it may also reinforce their identities and preserve pluralism.

Anderson and Stokes (1984) have argued that literacy is influenced largely by social institutions and not cultural membership. They researched low income families from three cultural groups: Black American, Mexican American, and Anglo American. Many of the businesses and institutions within American society were found to exert a strong influence on the literacy practices of these low income families. The most frequently occurring domains of literacy activities within these low income families were: (1) entertainment, (2) daily living, (3) religion, and (4) school-related activities. The average amount of time spent on literacy activities per day was 75 non-conservative minutes. It was found that Anglo parents initiated a comparatively larger number and wider range of literacy activities but their children worked at them for a shorter duration than those initiated by Black of Mexican American children.

Two barriers were discovered which prevented parents from actualizing the literacy teaching potential of the home: (1) the role of the school and (2) the role of the routine home activities in teaching children to read and write. In the first instance, parents wanted to help their children do well in school but they did not feel they possessed the necessary competence to be effective teachers of literacy for their children. Parents believed that school teachers were more capable due to their special training. Therefore, school teachers were the experts and the only legitimate source of literacy training for children.

The second barrier was parent's perceptions of routine home activities. Parents need to be made aware of the literacy teaching potential of the daily activities. Parents need to increase their sense of competence regarding their ability to be effective teachers of literacy for their children. Finally, parents needed to be provided with procedural information and strategies which will allow them to actualize the literacy teaching potential of events embedded in their normal daily activities.

One American culture, that of Appalachia, has only recently received the attention of researchers (Henderson, 1966; Rhodes, 1968; Wagner, 1977). Children in Appalachia have unique problems because teachers and principals held strong attitudes against their culture, especially concerning the children's attitude toward education, their high degree of mobility, persistent absenteeism, high drop-out rate, and cultural language patterns.

Borman and Mueninghoff (1983) set out to describe and analyze the family, school, and neighborhood settings as they figured in the lives of Appalachian children in Cincinnati. School often became an institution for selective sorting which often overwhelmed and defeated Appalachian students. "Although parents value success in school and in the world of work, they may be unwilling to see their children sacrifice an engagement with life in the active, individualistic way that is seemingly antithetical to studiousness" (p. 213). Maloney (1974) found a forty percent school drop-out rate among Appalachian children in the Cincinnati schools. All of these studies concluded that urban schools were failing the urban Appalachian child. "If the schools continue to ignore their responsibilities throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s urban Appalachian children will continue to lose faith in themselves and respect for their heritage" (Wagner, p. 294).

Parent-Teacher Communication

Dramatic shifts in urban schools in recent decades have caused deeper divisions between home, school, and communities. Brofenbrenner (1970, 1974, 1978) argues that the school is becoming increasingly isolated from the home, with significant consequences for the behavior and development of children.

> Specifically, I suggest that the alienation of children and youth and its destructive development sequelae reflect a breakdown of the interconnections among the various segments of the child's life-family, school, peer group, neighborhood, and the beckoning, or all to often indifferent or rejecting world of work (1979, p. 849).

Boundary setting and territoriality between teachers and parents are often entangled with negative, rigid stereotypes of one another. Lightfoot (1981) suggests that one of the reasons why the struggles over territoriality are rarely articulated, clarified, and resolved is because there are very few opportunities for parents and teachers to come together for meaningful, substantive discussion. Schools organize public, ritualistic occasions like PTA meetings, Open House, or newsletters, that rarely allow for real contact, negotiation, or criticism between parents and teachers. These tend to be institutionalized ways of establishing boundaries between insiders (teachers) and interlopers (parents) under the guise of polite conversation and mature cooperation.

In analyzing the decisions that arise between parents and teachers during conferences, Lightfoot saw them as a product of the competition and materialism in our society.

> The school is seen as the major mechanism of standardized competition of human resources. Children are viewed as property to be developed, protected, and controlled by parents; and parents are their ambivalent sponsors who must find effective strategies for receiving their children's studies in some future and unknown society (p. 102).

Lightfoot suggested that educators should "listen for the child's voice" even to the point of including students in conferences, if they wish to develop positive relationships with parents and children. She argued that the family-school relationship should be a triangular one involving the experiences and perspectives of parents, teachers, and children. When adults begin to focus on their reasons for coming together in a conference in the first place and begin to act in the best interest of the child, defensiveness and territoriality lines erode.

Burke (1985) has called for increased collaborative efforts in communication among parents, teachers and children. Within the collaborative relationship, each participant is accepted as an equal among equals. The consensus of the participants becomes the preferred form of problem solving and responsibilities are shared.

Statement of the Problem

One of the purposes of this naturalistic inquiry study (Holland, 1987) was to investigate, describe, and compare home-school communication patterns between special reading teachers and parents of the children they served, with attention to parents' and teachers' views of each other as literacy supporters for children. Specifically, what is and is not the power shared between parents and teachers in the literacy experiences of children? What are the ways teachers do and do not involve parents in their children's literacy development? What does and does not work in teacher-parent communication?

Population

The research population was thirteen urban Black and Appalachian parents of poor and working class socioeconomic status whose first-grade children attended what were considered the worst inner city schools in Columbus, Ohio. Their first-grade children were participating in the Reading Recovery Program, (Clay, 1985) an early intervention program which takes first-graders "at risk" of failure in reading and writing and through systematic and sensitive daily, individual tutoring moves them to a level of reading and writing independence and success within a four to six month period.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES: RACE, CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Family #	Name	Racial/ Cultural Background	Socioeconomic Status
2*	The Robertsons	White, Appalachian	$ 0-4999
3	The McCalls	White, Appalachian	$ 0-4999
4**	The Burns	Black	$ 5-9999
5	The Turners	Black	$ 0-4999
6	The Williams	Black	$10-14,999
7	The Jones	Black, Appalachian	$10-14,999
8	The Richmonds	Black	$ 5-9999***
9	The Walters	Black	$10-14,999
10	The Kingstons	White, Appalachian	$10-14,999
12	The Andersons	White, Appalachian	$15-19,999
15	The Applegates	White, Appalachian	$10-14,999***
16	The Taylors	White, Appalachian	$30-39,999
17	The Logans	White, Appalachian	$25-29,999***

* Families 1, 11, 13, and 14 each dropped out of the study at various points and for various reasons: moving, illness, family death, and difficult pregnancy.

** Mrs. Burns is a white, non-Appalachian grandmother who was married to a black man. She is alone and raising her black grandchildren born of black parents.

*** Combined annual income of both parents working.

The researcher met with these thirteen families in their homes four different times during the 1985-86 school year, as their children progressed through the Reading Recovery Program. Through the use of formal and informal interviews, written and audio-taped field notes, questionnaires, collections of literacy samples, and checklists, the researcher sought to gather information about the dynamics of family literacy support systems, parent views of the Reading Recovery Program in the lives of their hildren, and home-school communication atterns. Seven teachers who were tutoring these parents' first-graders, were also interviewed about how they attempted to involve parents in the program and their own attitudes about parent involvement in children's literacy development.

TABLE 2: **READING RECOVERY TEACHERS**

Teacher	Race	School	Assignment	Years Experience
Amanda Smith	B	Houghton	Chapter One	28
Lenore Scott	W	Darby	Classroom	11
Caroline Master	W	Darby	Chapter One	12
Diane Stewart	W	Darby	Classroom	15
Margaret Reed	W	Darby	Chapter One	20
Deborah Miller	W	Fenmore	Classroom	16
Bridget Leahy	W	Fenmore	Chapter One	15

Teacher Styles of Communication

Two styles of communication evolved among the seven teachers which greatly influenced parent involvement and support of the Reading Recovery Program. Of the seven teachers in this study, four were found to us an active style of home-school communication, while three were using a passive style of communication with parents (see Table 3 on the next page).

Active Style of Teacher Communication

The four active teachers tended to pursue parents relentlessly in order to get them involved in their children's literacy development. The teachers used a personal, persistnet, and flexible style of communication with parents. They would call parents on the phone, sent handwritten notes, and take advantage of any face-to-face encounters in order to convey information about the program and children's progress. These teachers remained persistent in their attempts to involve parents. They did not give up when notes or phome calls failed. They shifted communication choices because they expected their parents to be involved in the program.

Active teachers communicated a sincere need to parents when they contacted them. The message was very clear from teacher to parent: "I NEED YOUR HELP to teach your child to read and write. We have to work together for your child's success." Active teachers then sought specific appointment dates and times to

(continued on page 102)

TABLE 3: **STYLES OF TEACHER-PARENT COMMUNICATION**

Ms. Leahy, Ms. Miller, Ms. Smith, Ms. Masters	Ms. Scott, Ms. Reed, Ms. Stewart
1. Active Approach.	1. Passive Approach.
2. Persistent follow-up communication.	2. Communication sent once only.
3. Personal: phone calls, notes, and face-to-face encounters.	3. Formal Reading Recovery letters or parent-teacher conferences.
4. Early communication during first first month of children's tenure in Reading Recovery.	4. Early formal notification letter with no follow-up.
5. Message: "I need your help to teach your child to read and write. We have to work together for your child's success.	5. Message: "Come in if you want to do so."
6. Specific appointment dates and times sought on teacher's initiative.	6. General open-ended invitation: "Come in anytime," leaving initiative to parents.
7. Flexibility and respect for parents' schedules, especially working parents. Parents are allowed to set appointment time and dates within the confines of the regular school day.	7. Lack of flexibility or respect for parent schedules. Ms. Scott and Ms. Masters show respect for parent transportation problems by holding formal parent conferences in Darby and Washington neighborhoods so parents can walk.
8. Expect parent to observe a lesson with their children as an integral part of their Reading Recovery Program.	8. No expectation of parent lesson observation as an integral part of of Reading Recovery Program.
9. Reading Recovery books and cut-up sentences not sent home at Fenmore until parents understand proper literacy support procedures.	9. Reading Recovery books and cut-up sentences sent home without directions. Parents over-emphasize traditional literacy support behaviors with books and use flash card methods with cut-up sentences.
10. Parents understand the Reading Recovery Program and their roles as literacy supporters of children at home.	10. Parents are confused about Reading Recovery Program and their roles as literacy supporters of children at home.
11. Strong rapport and trust between parents and teachers.	11. Less rapport and trust between parents and teachers.

meet with parents about the Reading Recovery Program and their children's progress in reading and writing. They respected parents' busy family and work schedules and used flexibility when scheduling meeting with parents.

And finally, these active teachers acted on their need for parent involvement and took the initiative to schedule a convenient time for the parent, child, and teacher to participate together in a tutoring lesson. Active teachers wanted parents to understand the Reading Recovery Program and their roles as important literacy supporters of their children. Active teachers tended to have strong rapport and trust with parents.

Passive Style of Teacher Communication

Three teachers used a more passive approach in home-school communication. They used formal and less personal school letters, which were only sent once with no further follow-up communication of any other sort. Passive teachers tended to parents open-ended and less specific "come in anytime" invitations. This general, open-ended communication left the initiative to parents for the maintenance of home school communication.

Passive teachers relied on less flexible scheduling of meetings, such as Parent-Teacher conference days or Open House meetings, which more than half of the parents in this study could not attend due to work schedules, lack of transportation, or need for babysitting services. Because parents did not come to school, passive teachers viewed them as apathetic and uninvolved in their children's literacy development. These teachers did not expect parents to really help. Passive teachers tended to have poor rapport and trust with their parents.

Collaboration

While the passive teachers asked, "Why bother?", the active teacher personally invited most of their parents up to the school one at a time to observe a Reading Recovery lesson. During the lesson, teacher, parent, and child collaborated on the literacy events within one context.

This experience allowed teachers to do many things: (1) demonstrate supportive literacy behaviors; (2) model proper use of literacy material; (3) answer parent questions and concerns about reading and writing support at home; (4) form an alliance of trust with their parents; and (5) send a strong message to Reading Recovery children that parents and teachers care about them and will work together to help them become successful readers and writers. Active teachers took full advantage of this shared literacy context to teach parents about reading and writing development as well as learn from parents what they were already doing at home to help their children learn to read and write.

This collaborative experience had a powerful impact on parents. These parents had never been invited to the school for a positive school visit. They were excited after what their children could do very well and successfully. They had never seen a professional educator teach their children reading and writing. Parents were amazed at what the active teachers were doing with their children and what their children could do in reading and writing. This observation of the teacher tutoring the child helped parents understand the Reading Recovery Program.

After this three-way collaborative experience, parents felt empowered as literacy supporters of their own children. They entered into an alliance with the active teacher based on professional respect, shared concern for the child's literacy development, and the teacher's obvious care about their child's welfare. Parents went home and told everyone--family, friends, and co-workers -- about Reading Recovery, which became positive public relations for the school system.

Children, too, benefitted from this three-way collaborative literacy conference. They had the opportunity to show their parents positive literacy behaviors they could accomplish with their teacher. They also had the chance to share a school literacy context with their parents.

Children were able to have their parents and teachers meet together in their presence and talk about them. Children concretely saw parents and teachers concerned about their well-being and heard teachers tell their parents what had to be done at home. Children could remind parents what teachers had said at the observation lesson in order to encourage their parents to practice proper literacy support at home. Parents could remind children what teachers had said in order to get them to perform reading and writing activities at home.

Field, Tenor, and Mode

This collaborative venture among parent, child, and teacher, contrasted sharply with parents' experiences in formal parent-teacher conferences. One method of comparison (Halliday, 1975) used was to examine the field (context), tenor (power balance), and mode (discourse style) of Reading Recovery lesson observations and formal parent-teacher conferences (see Table 4 below).

The field of context of the Reading Recovery lesson observation was the actual lesson itself. The three participants shared a common experience from which to discuss their separate roles and obligations within the child's literacy development. More importantly, the parent participated through observation in a school literacy context. In the formal parent-teacher conference the child is the center of discussion but two contexts for discussion exist. The teacher talks about the school literacy context while the parent talks about the home literacy context. There is no shared literacy context between parents and teachers in traditional parent-teacher conferences.

In the Reading Recovery observation the tenor or power base of the Reading Recovery lesson is shared among the three participants; each player has an important role to play. The teacher's power comes from her professional knowledge about how she, parents, and the child should help each other. The parent has power from the observation and the support offered to the child at home. The child has power merely by being present at the observation and displays of reading and writing abilities. While the teacher is respected as the most knowledgeable literacy supporter, the scales are not totally tipped against the parent because the teacher needs the parent to talk about home literacy experiences and methods of family literacy support.

In the traditional parent-teacher context the power balance is tipped heavily toward teachers. Parents come to the school which is the teacher's familiar territory. Parents wait for the teacher to report to them about children's performances in the school literacy contexts. Since this context is unfamiliar to parents; parents have nothing in which to compare the home literacy context. Teachers do most of the talking at these conferences which may run twenty to thirty minutes. If parents disagree with teachers about children's performances in the school literacy contexts because they have seen children do positive behaviors at home, their views are usually not accepted because school literacy context behaviors have more credibility.

The mode of discourse styles present at the Reading Recovery lesson observations are complete. Speaking, listening, reading, and writing occur during the lesson and in the three way conference afterwards. Parents have a chance to see their children's school reading and writing support behaviors. Teachers have opportunity to model proper reading and writing support behaviors. children are able to show their parent their reading and writing skills within the school context. In the formal parent-teacher context, speaking and listening are the modes of communication. Parents and teachers talk about children's reading and writing behaviors within the school context.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF TRADITIONAL PARENT/TEACHER CONFERENCES AND READING RECOVERY LESSON OBSERVATION

Reading Recovery Lesson Observations	Traditional Parent/Teacher Conferences
1. Participants: parent, teacher, & child	1. Participants: parent and teacher
2. Time: 30-60 minutes	2. Time: 20-30 minutes
3. Focus: Reading Recovery lesson under observation and parent literacy support role	3. Focus: Child's literacy behaviors in the school context
4. Emphasis: Collaboration among parent, teacher and child participation	4. Emphasis: Teacher directed
5. Parent Role: Observation of lesson, discussion of home literacy activities receiver of teacher's specific suggestions and participant in conference with teacher about child's progress and further needs.	5. Parent Role: Listens to teacher's report of child's school progress and may have chance to ask questions.
6. Field: Shared context of Reading Recovery lesson in progress	6. Field: Separate contexts of school and home not shared by parents and teachers
7. Tenor: Collaborative participation shared among parents, teachers, and children	7. Tenor: Teacher as powerful entity and source of knowledge concerning child's literacy progress
8. Modes: Speaking, listening, reading, and writing	8. Modes: Speaking and listening.

Parents do not see their children acts as readers and writers in school. Children are not even present at formal parent-teacher conferences.

Implications

The Reading Recovery lesson observation involving collaboration among parent, teacher, and child was one of the most powerful impacts upon parents in this study. Another powerful impact was the teacher's style of communication because the active teachers were far more successful that passive teachers in obtaining parent participation in both children's literacy development as well as the Reading Recovery Program.

If teachers are to encourage successful parent participation, they should initiate active, personal, persistent, flexible, and positive communication efforts with parents. Teachers must believe that parents are an integral part of the reading and writing program and expect parents to participate. Teachers should initiate communication early in the program to get parents involved and give information. Phone calls, handwritten notes, and face-to-face parent contact are more effective than formal program communication.

If teachers are to help parents understand reading and writing programs, they need to hold collaborative sessions where parents can observe their children and they can also talk about effective literacy support behaviors. Teachers need to fulfill their professional teaching role with parents as well as children. When teachers model effective literacy support behaviors, parents can understand what they should do at home. They need to help parents look at various kinds of reading books and writing materials and know how to use each kind. Teachers need to help parents realize the literacy opportunities already part of the everyday lives within families.

If teachers are to increase parent participation, they should initiate collaborative school literacy experiences for themselves, children, and parents, in order to establish a shared literacy context on which to base communication. The shared context could be reading a book to a child or writing with a child. Collaborative efforts help parents become knowledgeable about literacy and specialized language. Children see parents and teachers working for common goals. Parents are the first teachers of their children. But, instead of teachers totally usurping that role from parents and ignoring the significant and critical literacy support role parents and teachers can play in their children's lives, parents and teachers should work together with children to exert a more powerful influence upon the literacy development of their children both at home and at school.

Note: Information about the Reading Recovery Program may be obtained from Dr. Guy Su Pinnell, 200 Ramseyer Hall, 29 West Woodruff Street, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 43210. Phone: (614) 292-0711.

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BEYOND DIALECT: THE EFFECTS OF CULTURE ON APPALACHIAN STUDENTS' WRITING STYLES

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While teaching at a small liberal arts college in Western North Carolina, a student of mine once confessed that as a child, she had a strong dislike for reading which took her many years to overcome. This aversion originated in the first grade. Apparently her first grade teacher did not consider her speech to be "proper English," so whenever this student read orally, her teacher constantly corrected her nonstandard pronunciations. She quickly found the whole reading situation to be intimidating and began to despair of ever learning to read "properly."

Teacher bias of students' speech patterns has been well documented. In all fairness, however, teachers are merely reflecting the values of the mainstream, for there is a pervasive attitude throughout our society that there is one "correct" way of speaking, a single communicative mold, to which all of us must aspire. This elusive ideal is somehow felt to be more "pure," more "logical," than other ways of speaking.

These attitudes came to the forefront in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the popularization of the "deficit theory" espoused by a number of educational psychologists, the most notable being Bereiter and Engelmann (1966). Basing their conclusions on interview data with young black children, Bereiter and Engelmann argued that children from minority cultures come to school with an impoverished language which almost inevitably leads to failure in school.

What these scholars failed to consider is that communicating is a social phenomenon and not just a linguistic one; i.e., the utterances we make while interacting with other human beings are determined not only by the meaning we wish to impart; but they are also subconsciously constrained by the "context of situation" in which we find ourselves (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). We use different communicative strategies when talking with our clergyman after a church service than when talking with our spouse on the way home. Similarly, children will use different patterns of interacting when talking with a researcher, or when talking with a teacher who is perhaps of a different social class, than when talking with their friends in their own community. In fact, this is precisely what sociolinguist William Labov found in a reexamination of Bereiter and Engelmann's findings: children who had been labelled "verbally deprived" in interview situations were found to be highly competent language users when their speech was examined in more familiar and spontaneous settings (Labov, 1985).

To reiterate, what we say and how we say it is determined by our relationship with the other participants in the communicative event, how we perceive our role in the particular situation, where we are located in time and place, and what our communicative intentions might be. Because different cultures embrace distinct values and role relationships, societies develop characteristic "ways of meaning," or their own sociolinguistic repertoires, for interacting appropriately within the speech community. Thus to become competent as language users, children must learn much more than the grammatical and phonological rules of speech; they must also learn the social rules which govern interaction within their particular culture.

While sociolinguists have argued persuasively against the deficit theory, in many ways it is still alive and well (Labov, 1985; Wells, 1986). Literacy, as it has been traditionally perceived in our schools, reflects a middle-class bias, and students who do not conform to the accepted ways of communicating generally score below average on standardized tests (Cook-Gumperz, 1986). The Appalachian region is no exception; recent research shows that students from Appalachia consistently score below average on tests of language ability, and drop-out rates continue to hover around 50% in some Appalachian counties (Baghban, 1984; DeYoung, Vaught, & Porter, 1981).

What are the variables we use to assess another's communicative performance? Certainly we are affected by dialect differences, i.e., the phonological and grammatical variations of speech. At times, these variations can even cause a breakdown in communication, as it did for me at a small-town cafe in southern Georgia when the waitress asked me "Howja wan' yo' aigs?" Nevertheless, there are even more subtle differences in communicating, I think, which go beyond dialect but which can have an equally pervasive effect on our interactions with others. These differences have to do with our communicative style, the discourse features we choose to employ in both our oral and written exchanges.

Several researchers have addressed this issue. In her studies on conversation, Deborah Tannen (1982, 1985) has found important stylistic variations even among persons who are highly literate. For example, her research has demonstrated that some people tend to state their ideas explicitly, whereas others rely more on nonverbal and prosodic cues (such as speed, pitch, and gesture), and these different communicative styles can lead to misinterpretation and to difficulties in comprehending an intended message. These conclusions are in concordance with the work of Sarah Michaels (1981, 1986), who examined the different strategies children use during "sharing time." Michaels found that the black children she studied used an implicit style which was interpreted by middle class teachers as circumlocutory and digressive, or what she has called "topic associating" as opposed to "topic-centered." She reports that this situation was a constant source of frustration to both teachers and children; teachers were unable to teach adequately the desired strategy of making explicit connections between ideas, and children were unable to change their communicative styles to fit the more acceptable standard of the school. Shirley Brice Heath (1983), who studied language use in two different communities in the Piedmont South, found that "formal differences among dialects caused relatively little difficulty in communication [between children and their mainstream teachers]...More troublesome were the differences in the uses of language the children brought to school" (p. 278).

So far my remarks have largely focused on oral language differences, but what about written language differences? Do sociolinguistic variations affect the way children read and write in the standard code? Research in reading has generally found that speaking a nonstandard dialect does not hinder students' comprehension of text, since reading is basically a receptive process (Goodman & Buck, 1973; also see Hartwell, 1980 for a summary of research). Investigations of dialect effects in writing have been mixed; some researchers report that a substantial number of errors in students' compositions are related to dialect influence, particularly in the elementary grades (Cronnell, 1984, 1985; Whiteman, 1981; Wilson, 1986; Wolfram & Whiteman, 1971). However, there seems to be considerable variation in the frequency of occurrence of those nonstandard features which were examined. Studies of dialect influence in the written essays of college students enrolled in basic writing programs have concluded that oral dialect features cannot account for their main writing difficulties (Farr & Janda, 1985; Kirschner & Poteet, 1973; for a review of these and other studies, see Cronnell, 1983; Hartwell, 1980; and Schwartz, 1982).

It becomes evident from a review of the research that studies of written language have tended to focus on the surface features of text, i.e., how phonological and syntactical variations affect children's ability to use written language, rather than on the discourse strategies used by people from various subcultures. (Notable exceptions are Collins & Michaels, 1986; Farr & Janda, 1985). What is lacking, therefore, is a comprehensive theoretical perspective which includes the ways in which students from diverse subcultures communicate through written language. Do students from minority subcultures have different semiotic styles, i.e., different ways for expressing meaning, in their writing? If so, can these differences be defined? How might these differences influence teachers' perceptions of students' writing abilities?

Description of the Study

In an effort to explore these questions, I asked teachers to elicit writing samples from two different populations of sixth grade students. One group of students resided in a non-Appalachian, urban community, and one group of students resided in a small community in the Appalachian South. In an effort to be brief, I would characterize the non-Appalachian community as being upwardly mobile and progressive, having a diverse population characteristic of urban growth centers. In contrast, the Appalachian community is rural, relatively stable, and much more "traditional."

The students were asked to write persuasive essays giving their opinion about working women. Forty texts were used in the analysis. This figure represents all of the Appalachian compositions and a randomly selected sample from the 27 non-Appalachian compositions which had been received.

Since my intent was to explore different semiotic writing styles used by students from the two populations, I chose to avoid using a preconceived system of analysis; rather, I examined the essays in a general, holistic way for differences in expression, and then devised a system of analysis which I felt could best capture those differences.

Two related contrasts emerged in the holistic analysis. First, the Appalachian compositions were much more personal than the non-Appalachian compositions; they seemed to reflect a different sense of audience. Second, the Appalachian texts could be characterized as less formal in style. In order to document these differences, three aspects of the texts were examined. I will now define these aspects and demonstrate their usage through examples (see Appendix at end).

Exophoric references. The first element which was examined was the author's use of exophoric references. These devices require access to the situation for interpretation. For example, I might say to my husband upon returning home from work, "Well, did you get it?" As a casual observer, you would undoubtedly have no idea how to interpret the exophoric reference "it," unless you happened to be present earlier when I called him on the telephone and asked him to pick up a pizza for dinner. Use of these devices implies a certain rapport and a certain degree of shared knowledge by the participants in the communicative event.

Colloquial vocabulary. The second aspect examined in the analysis was the author's use of colloquial vocabulary. Colloquial vocabulary was defined operationally as lexical items which are used predominantly in oral language but which are rarely found in typical written language (Chafe, 1985). Use of colloquial vocabulary suggests a more personal and informal writing style.

Structural elements. The final analysis focused on the author's use of certain structural features which are often considered to be more typical of conversational speech. Included in this analysis were the use of question-answer adjacency pairs and the use of sentence-connecting additive conjunctions.

Results

Use of Exophoric References

Exophoric devices actually occur on a continuum, with some exophoric references being more implicit than others (Hasan, 1984), depending upon the degree to which the reader must refer to the material situation outside the text for interpretation. Following the linguist Ruquaia Hasan, I have termed the most implicit of these devices "restricted/ ambiguous." Use of this device implies shared knowledge by all participants in the communicative event; furthermore, as was illustrated in the example given above, access to the situation may not be adequate for complete interpretation. As can shown in Table 1 below, the Appalachian students used restricted/ambiguous exophoric devices to a much greater extent than the non-Appalachian students (8.1 per every 1000 words as compared with 2.2 per every 1000 words in the non-Appalachian texts).

Table 1: **Personal and Demonstrative Exophoric Reference Devices Used by Appalachian and Non-Appalachian Writers**

<< Most implicit . . . . Least implicit >>

	Restricted/Ambiguous		Indeterminate		Instantial	
	Total	Proportion*	Total	Proportion	Total	Proportion
Appalachian	27	8.1	39	11.7	18	5.4
Non-Appalachian	6	2.2	17	6.3	23	8.5

*per 1000 words

Note: Total number of words in texts were as follows: Appalachian - 3338; Non-Appalachian - 2716

The second type of exophoric device has been termed "indeterminate." Indeterminate exophora have a medium degree of implicitness; their source can be retrieved, but the resulting meaning may be less precise than that intended by the author. In English, the exophoric device the is used in this capacity. References were judged to be indeterminate when the definite article the was used to refer to a general class (e.g., "the man"), but the actual source had not been previously specified in the text. These devices also appeared with greater frequency in the Appalachian texts, occurring in 11.7 of every 1000 words, as compared with 6.3 of every 1000 words in the non-Appalachian texts. Writers who make use of restricted/ambiguous and indeterminate exophoric devices assume a certain amount of shared knowledge between themselves and their audience. In other words, the implicit nature of these devices implies a certain rapport, a more communal relationship, between author and reader which makes accurate interpretation possible in the absence of concrete referent sources.

The third type of exophoric device which was coded in the analysis, "instantial references, has a low degree of implicitness. While meaning still must be mediated through knowledge of the situation surrounding an utterance, there is a comparatively narrow range of retrieval for the source so that precise interpretation is possible. In writing, the instantial devices "I" and "you" are used in this capacity to refer to the roles of author and reader. Consequently, instantial devices are commonly used to focus attention on the author and to make his or her ideas more salient (e.g., "In my opinion, I think that. . ."). As can be noted from Table 1, the non-Appalachian population used this device more often than the Appalachian population, largely because of their frequent use of first person singular pronouns. However, the Appalachian students often used second person instantial referent devices exophorically to refer to the reader and/or general audience ("If you got in trouble, what would you do"), thus encouraging audience participation.

Use of Colloquial Vocabulary

Both populations used colloquial vocabulary; however, it was much more prevalent in the Appalachian essays. A total of 67 colloquial words and expressions were noted in the Appalachian compositions, and a total of 14 colloquial items were noted in the non-Appalachian compositions. Examples of colloquial terms which were used include general substitutions for more concrete lexical items ("stuff" or "things"); slang terms ("get hooked" on cigarettes); less formal or conventional forms ("cop"); and various formulaic expressions ("barefooted and pregnant"). In using colloquial items, the writer assumes that a reader has a shared understanding of their meanings and connotations. In this way, both the use of colloquial vocabulary and the use of implicit exophoric devices help to create a sense of audience involvement and contribute to a more informal writing style.

Variations in Structural Elements

Finally, the compositions were examined for differences in structural features. One feature which was found relatively frequently in the Appalachian compositions was question-answer "adjacency pairs." (Example 6 in the Appendix provides an illustration of these question-answer pairs.) This construction was used by eight of the Appalachian students, while the non-Appalachian students never used it. Often authors would pose a question to the reader and would then omit the response, which again presupposes shared knowledge. Question-answer sequences like this are characteristic of conversational turn-taking, but are not typically found in formal written prose (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Schegloff, 1986).

A second relatively common structural pattern found in the Appalachian essays, but not in the non-Appalachian essays, was "linear linking," whereby arguments were presented in a linear fashion and were connected by conjunctions. As shown in Table 2 on the next page, the Appalachian students used these sentence-connecting devices to a much greater extent; in the majority of cases, the device used was the additive "and." Use of this conjunction is considered more typical of an "oral style" (Ong, 1982).

Discussion

Through this somewhat detailed analysis, I was able to document tangible differences in the semiotic writing styles of the two populations. These patterns seem to suggest that the Appalachian students in this study wrote in a different register, one which assumed a more personal relationship with the audience. How might these results be interpreted, and what implications might they have for writing instruction?

To answer these questions, I believe we must examine the "context of situation" to which I alluded earlier. While the particular task and setting for these two groups of students were essentially the same, (i.e., both were typical sixth grade classrooms, and both groups were given the identical writing assignment to complete), it is evident that the two populations nevertheless perceived the writing situation differently. The "context of situation" for the Appalachian students is one which is basically "sociocentric" in that there is a strong sense of community; the "context of situation" for the non-Appalachian students, on the other hand,

Table 2: **Summary of Conjunctive Sentence-Connecting Devices Used by Appalachian and Non-Appalachian Writers**

		Appalachian		Non-Appalachian	
Type of Conjunction	Conjunction	Total Use	# Writers Using	Total Use	# Writers Using
Additive:	and*	27	10	3	2
	and also	--	--	1	1
	or	2	1	2	2
	like if**	1	1	--	--
	now if**	1	1	--	--
	also	--	--	1	1
Adversative:	but	5	4	5	4
	however	--	--	1	1
Causal:	so	4	3	--	--
	therefore	--	--	1	1
	then	2	2	2	2
Temporal:	then	--	--	1	1

*different functions of and were noted: adversative (3 times) and causal (4 times).
**i.e., "for instance"

is one of autonomy and relative independence. I would argue that these differences in role relationships within the two communities has resulted in differences in expression which are manifested in their distinct writing styles. Because they operate in a different tenor, one which assumes a more intimate relationship with the reader, the Appalachian students tend to use a writing style which promotes audience involvement. In fact, students who have been socialized in more sociocentric cultures may find it difficult to express themselves in the detached and more formal style favored by the schools.

If we can accept this premise, then what are the implications for instruction? First, I believe it is necessary that we reevaluate our conception of literacy and expand this definition to include communicative strategies which are useful in different social contexts (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981). All students must increase their linguistic repertoires; those students who can only communicate using academic prose are certainly as handicapped as those who never learn to communicate in this more formal way. Thus, I believe it is important that we recognize and cultivate the distinct linguistic styles which have emerged out of different subcultures and begin to define the situations in which alternative uses of language might be desirable.

Second, we must encourage language growth by allowing our students to write freely in different genres and for different audiences. The current trend in language instruction is to segment the process into separate subskills. Not only does this focus tend to accentuate nonstandard phonological and grammatical features, i.e., the "surface features" of text, but it also obscures the real function of writing, which is to communicate meaning.

Finally, I believe it is important that we acknowledge that schools operate under a rather narrow conception of literacy, and it might be debated whether or not this is desirable for all students. At the very least, we must recognize that our rather dogmatic insistence that students conform to certain preconceived literacy standards will continue to alienate a rather sizeable segment of the population, including a number of Appalachian students. Perhaps maintaining these standards is desirable and even necessary, but we must be willing to pay the price.

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Appendix

Examples of Exophora Found in the Writing Samples
of Appalachian and Non-Appalachian Students

Restricted/Ambiguous:

Ex. 1: "I think they should work." (No prior source for the referent item was provided in the text.)

Ex. 2: "She could have a little fun. And in some factories men would look funny. . . When they come home on the weekend they could do some of their housework."

Indeterminate:

Ex. 3: "Sometimes if the man's working more money comes in."

Ex. 4: "The women should have good jobs. The men think that women should stay home barefooted and pregnant."

Instantial:

Ex. 5: "In my opinion, I think women should have the right to work outside their home."

Ex. 6: "So you say who would take over the house? Get a babysitter."♦

UNIVERSAL THEMES IN APPALACHIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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The first two papers in this session on the politics of literacy are closely related. Kathleen Holland in her paper stresses reading as a shared activity (see pages 95-107 above). I like to use the word communal; reading is an act of communion. Holland's point is that reading improves when the barrier boundary between home and school is broken, when a oneness of effort is achieved among parent, child, and teacher. Rebecca Eller, without saying so directly, argues much the same thing in her paper (see pages 108-116 above). Though Eller is talking about writing and Holland about reading, the problem is the same: The barrier between home and school affects all aspects of the curriculum. What students read at school is rarely shared at home. Conversely, what students read at home and, more particularly, how they speak at home are not acceptable--let alone shared--in the schools.

In fact, most English teachers spend their lives trying to convince students that the language they use naturally in the home is unacceptable. For Appalachian students, this barrier is even worse; their language is labeled regional, substan-dard, and illiterate (Ch. 19 of the Harbrace College Handbook). The curriculum promotes reading material and discourse styles which are "universal," "standard," and "canonized." Eller argues just the opposite--that we must "accept and cultivate the discourse styles which have emerged out of different subcultures" and that "we must encourage language growth by providing a multitude of diverse reading and writing experiences for our students."

Appalachian children's literature is a solid foundation upon which to build such "diverse reading and writing experiences." The activities outlined below are designed to encourage diversity and to eliminate not only the barrier between home and school, but the perceived (and I believe mythical) barrier between Appalachia and "the rest of the world," between Appalachian children's literature and the canon of children's literature. Though these activities have been designed with the Appalachian reader in mind, they are applicable to all classrooms. Furthermore, the same activities can be adapted to any body of regional or, to use Eller's term, subcultural, literature.

Before we look at these activities, however, some justification for them is warranted. To this end, I want to identify three related areas of concern: for the curriculum (and curriculum planners); for students (and parents); and finally, for teachers. Curriculum planners are under great pressure to allay the national fears raised by such publications as A Nation at Risk (1983), E. D. Hirsch's Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know (1987), and Allan Bloom's The Closing of the American Mind (1987). The titles alone bespeak the fear and insecurity that permeate every classroom in the nation. The full impact of these books is yet to be analyzed, but one frightening result is the drive to purge the curriculum of specialty and eccentricity and diversity-- regionalism. Regional studies are being supplanted by a "universal" or "national" curriculum, or what E.D. Hirsch thinks every American needs to know.

Evidence of this purging abounds. One teacher in Washington County, Tennessee, who wrote her own text for a class in Appalachian literature will have no use for it when it is released in the spring of 1988. Her regional studies course has been stricken from the curriculum--replaced by "common content" courses designed to make her high-school students "culturally literate." Words like common, standard, and universal have come to mean not just "widely known," but "inoffensive," "safe," or "generic"--in other words, "without trademark," "no-name." We eat generic corn flakes, smoke generic cigarettes, and take generic drugs. We must not read generic (no-name) literature or speak and write a generic language.

Universal refers to wholeness. The universal aspects of literature are those which help make us whole and not necessarily those which apply generally to "every American" or those which are "nationally recognized," as Hirsch would argue. Literature frequently unfolds for me some mystery of self-identity, clothed in fine particulars of time and place and character, which may seem antithetical to general application but which is central to me--to who I am, where I come from, how I talk. (Gertie Nevels of The Dollmaker is one such particular). Frequently, however, the same piece of literature addresses universal themes. The Dollmaker has made me just as "literate" concerning authority (and the conflicting authorities of church and state) as has Antigone. My "literacy" is enriched doubly for having read both.

Curriculum designers need to remember that the road to literacy and the road to wholeness are one (be it wholeness in individuals or in curricula). Self-identity emerges from contrasts and contradictions, from dialectic and danger--not from commonality, sameness, stasis, and certainly not from safety. A curriculum that fosters self-identity and wholeness will naturally produce "culturally literate" students--by anybody's definition.

This brings us to the second area of concern, students--all students, the quick and the slow, the strong and the weak, the bright and the dull, the graduate and the drop-out. The quick, the strong, the bright, the college-bound are already pushed too soon into the "canon of great literature." The curriculum does these students great injury by ignoring works suitable to their regional and emotional interests in favor of "the classics." Don't misunderstand me. I am certainly not arguing that regional literature should replace the classics. Nor am I arguing that regional and classic are mutually exclusive. Quite the contrary; both are necessary.

Given a "safe" curriculum in grades K-12, gifted students (be they in Appalachia or Harlem) will likely never encounter themselves, their families, their language in print. I agree that they should read Winnie the Pooh, Alice in Wonderland, Little Women, Great Expectations, The Scarlet Letter, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, and Walden (all items on Hirsch's list of "what literate Americans know"). They will encounter these works repeatedly throughout their lifetimes. The Education of Little Tree, Queenie Peavy, and The People Therein, may not make students culturally literate, by Hirsch's definition; the characters Little Tree, Queenie, and Lanthy are not universally recognized. But Little Tree introduces Appalachian students to their own fears and prejudices; Queenie shows them their own troubled families; and high-school students can meet their own passion and pain through Lanthy. More significantly, Little Tree prepares them to meet Thoreau; Queenie makes a wonderful contrast to the March girls; Lanthy helps them understand Hester.

More importantly, these are quality works suitably challenging for any college-bound reader. In a 1979 interview at East Tennessee State University, Doris Buchanan Smith commented on the high quality of writing in children's books, saying that most adults (let alone children) never have the opportunity to appreciate this quality. This is even more true for children's books labeled as regional. Appalachian children's literature offers tremendous possibilities for enriching the gifted student's emotional life and for making him or her "culturally literate."

But what about the non-college-bound students, the dropouts, the slow learners, the "basic" and "Level I" students? Where does regional literature fit in these students' educational curricula? I am sorry for the rebellious ten-year-old who struggles with a basal reader but has never been read to from Queenie Peavy. A rural school librarian from Virginia tells me that her slow fourth graders will fight their way through Where the Red Fern Grows because they know about 'coon dogs--and they know a good story when they get caught by it! I am also sorry for the pregnant girl who drops out of high school having read (perhaps) Great Expectations and The Scarlet Letter, but not The Rock and the Willow or The People Therein. This same high-school girl will shortly become a mother with no reading experience to share with her child. She will not know the fine picture books of Cynthia Rylant, George Ella Lyon, and Bernice Hiser; the poetry of Elizabeth Madox Roberts and Cynthia Rylant; the fiction of Rebecca Caudill, Lillie Chaffin, and James Forman. She cannot give her child what she herself has not been awakened to. She cannot teach her own child.

This brings me to the teacher--my third concern--who is caught between the demands of the curriculum and the needs of the student. Teachers feel tremendous pressure to produce students who can perform well on standardized tests. They are under pressure to teach "common content" and to turn out literate adults. Teachers everywhere, but especially teachers in rural Appalachia, need the freedom to develop a curriculum to fit their students' needs.

In the Summer '87 issue of the National Forum, Susan Ohanian, editor of Learning magazine, makes an impassioned plea for such freedom. Her article, "An Elementary Teacher Responds to the Critics" (5-7), begins with an attack on curriculum critics "who base their recommendations on standardized test scores, the Gross National Product, and other numbers that go bump in the night" (5). "I wait in vain," she says, "for a media person to ask one of these blue-ribboned recommenders how many eight-year-olds he's talked to lately." Ohanian, who has sixteen years of teaching experience, says she can talk only about the children she knows--"the needs and capabilities of [her] third-graders":

> I can talk of Leslie and Charles, children of today's classroom, and when I tell you about these children, I will speak a precise language. The fact that my words are filled with obvious passion and commitment and--dare I say it--love, makes bureaucrats nervous; it causes them to claim that I am opinionated. So be it. The elementary classroom has no room for dispassionate people. (5)

Ohanian's argument ought to spark enthusiasm in every teacher who battles a standard curriculum that has little relevance for to her pupils:

> Teachers who love their calling, who are passionate about the methods and content they allow through the doorway, don't keep an eye on a behavioral checklist. They don't care if closure is in and story starters are out, if anticipatory sets are in and messing about in science is out. Ignoring trends, love and commitment doggedly pursue connection and meaning. (5)

This "connection and meaning" is exactly what is desirable, but especially in rural or isolated class-rooms where students are daily exposed to content that bears little relevance to their lives. Ohanian argues, "A good curriculum comes from the heart, mind, and intuition of the teacher as she watches the children in her care. And so very much depends on the heart" (6).

What does it mean to work from the heart? It means knowing oneself and one's students so well that a teacher can meet the needs of the moment. The following objectives and activities are meant only to be "starters," a first push. Once a teacher begins to read widely in the literature that speaks most directly to her students' needs, activities suggest themselves. The "heart" will make its own way.

Objectives and Activities
for the
Universal Application of Appalachian Children's Literature

OBJECTIVES

* To allow students to meet themselves in print--to see themselves, to hear themselves, to be able to say, "That's me!" or "That's my family!"
* To show students their own environment in print--their homes, schools, communities, churches . . . their "places"; to allow students to say,"That's just like where I live!" or "That's my house!"
* To help students learn by teaching and sharing--sharing with younger siblings, with other students, with parents.
* To prepare students to become reading adults--especially reading parents.
* To fulfill basic (universal) human needs (Maslow via Aubuthnot). The following needs are generally recognized as necessary to emotional, physical, and spiritual wholeness. Under each need are several suggested titles arranged according to difficulty, beginning with the most difficult.

a. The need for physical and material well being--security
A Taste of Blackberries, Doris Buchanan Smith
Escape to Witch Mountain, Alexander Key
The Forgotten Door, Alexander Key
John Henry McCoy, Lillie D. Chaffin
We Be Warm Till Springtime Comes, Lillie D. Chaffin

b. The need for love--to love and be loved
The People Therein, Mildred Lee
A Blue-Eyed Daisy, Cynthia Rylant
Ida Early Comes Over the Mountain, Robert Burch
Christmas with Ida Early, Robert Burch
The Relatives Came, Cynthia Rylant

c. The need to belong
The Education of Little Tree, Forrest Carter
Moonshadow of Cherry Mountain, Doris Buchanan Smith
You Better Come Home With Me, John Lawson
Good-by to Stony Crick, Borland and Speicher
Georgia Music, Helen Griffith
Oliver Hyde's Dishcloth Concert, Richard Kennedy

d. The need to achieve competence
Big Blue Island, Wilson Gage (Mary Q. Steele)
Did You Carry the Flag Today, Charley?, Rebecca Caudill
A Fine White Dust, Cynthia Rylant
A Regular Rolling Noah, George Ella Lyon
Charlie and His Wheat Straw Hat, Bernice Hiser

e. The need to know
Foxfire, The Foxfire Book of Toys and Games, The Foxfire Book of Appalachian Cookery
Hillbilly Women, Kathy Kahn

Pioneer Children of Appalachia, Joan Anderson

f. The need for beauty and order
Heart of Snowbird, Carol Lorenzo
The Rock and the Willow, Mildred Lee
Waiting to Waltz, Cynthia Rylant
Barn Dance, Bill Martin
Night in the Country, Cynthia Rylant

ACTIVITIES

1. Many Appalachian writers have produced literature on several levels (K-12) representing several genres. A good assignment for older students, and one that gives them a great sense of accomplishment, is to ask them to read all (or most) of one writer's work. This gives slow readers an opportunity to read easy material (picture books) as well as difficult material. The rewards for advanced students are just as great. The following three writers are especially suitable for assignments of this nature:

James Still	River of Earth	(gr. 10-adult)
	The Run for the Elbertas	(gr. 10-adult)
	Sporty Creek	(gr. 6-8)
	Wolfpen Rusties	(gr. 4-adult)
	Way Down Yonder on Troublesome Creek	(gr. 3-6)
	Jack and the Wonder Beans	(gr. K-3)
Rebecca Caudill	The Far-Off Land	(gr. 10-adult)
	A Certain Small Shepherd	(gr. 2-4)
	Did You Carry the Flag Today, Charley?	(gr. 2-4)
	A Pocket Full of Cricket	(gr. K-4)
	Wind, Sand, and Sky	(gr. K-6)
	Come Along	(gr. K-6)
Cynthia Rylant	Children of Christmas	(gr. 8-adult)
	A Blue-Eyed Daisy	(gr. 6-8)
	A Fine White Dust	(gr. 6-8)
	Waiting to Waltz	(gr. 4-10)
	Miss Maggie	(gr. K-3)
	When I Was Young in the Mountains	(gr. K-3)
	The Relatives Came	(gr. K-3)
	Night in the Country	(gr. K-3)

2. Appalachian children's books are excellent sources for language studies and writing assignments. The activities below are designed to meet objectives 1 and 2 above:

a. Students in higher grades can compare/contrast dialect representations in fiction--not for accuracy (that would be completely inappropriate) but for variety. For example, some writers (Lois Lenski) depict dialect through altered spelling and vocabulary. Others (Virginia Hamilton) rely on syntactical patterns. The following books work well for comparative analysis of dialect representation:

Blue Ridge Billy, Lois Lenski
M.C. Higgins, the Great, Virginia Hamilton
Fair Annie of Old Mule Hollow, Beverly C. Crook
Jack and the Wonder Beans, James Still
Queenie Peavy, Robert Burch
Heart of Snowbird, Carol Lorenzo
the works of Ruth and Latrobe Carroll or May Justus
(any of their titles will do)

b. Allow students to "dictate" stories about themselves and their families. For younger students (K-3), the teacher, a sibling, a parent, or an older student (a fifth grader) can "record" exactly what the student says--without correction or modification. Then let them "hear" themselves. Teacher, sibling, parent, or older student can read back to the teller his or her own words. Following an exercise such as this, a teacher can introduce the concept of dialect by reading from a variety of books representing different dialects and idiolects.

c. Encourage diary and journal keeping as a way for students to hear their own "voices." This can be combined with assignments that take students out of the classroom and force them to interact with adults--parents, grand- parents, siblings. A model source for projects such as this is Wendy Ewald's Portraits and Dreams, the story of how she taught photography to rural Kentucky students.

3. Picture books are sophisticated and complex entities, suitable for all grades--kindergarten through college. The following activities relate to objectives 3 and 4 above:

a. Allow older students to analyze the illustration. How do illustrators depict the region? Are some illustrators more flexible than others? (An artist suitable for this activity is Glen Rounds.)

b. Older students can also examine picture books with young children; the possibilities here are endless!

(1) Pair first and fifth graders for reading sessions using picture books--or any combination of grade levels.

(2) Have children "teach" their favorite picture books to adults--older students, parents, teachers; then ask them to describe the experience orally in class.

c. The illustration in a picture book frequently tells its own story, apart from the text (The Relatives Came, A Regular Rolling Noah). Ask students to write the story told in the illustration but not told in the text. This activity is suitable for third grade and up; it works very well with college students! For beginning readers and writers, wordless books are excellent for this exercise (Deep in the Forest).

d. Adaptations of folk tales are excellent for writing exercises. Students can examine such books as Still's Jack and the Wonder Beans and Gail Haley's Jack and the Bean Tree; then they can adapt the same tale to their lives, using their own language, families, communities, wants, needs, desires. This exercise works with all ages, including college students.

4. Appalachian children's literature "connects" thematically with the canon--the standard curriculum. Listed below are a few random, suggested pairings. The possibilities here are unlimited and readily suggest themselves once a reader is awakened to the many fine Appalachian books.

The People Therein (Mildred Lee) is an excellent companion to The Scarlet Letter.
Song of Jubilee (James Forman) tells the story of the Civil War through the eyes of a young Black man; it pairs beautifully with The Red Badge of Courage and The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come (newly issued by UK Press).
Oliver Hyde's Dishcloth Concert (Richard Kennedy) is "The Minister's Black Veil" told with a twist and set in a rural community.
Night in the Country (Cynthia Rylant) is a fitting companion to Walden.
A Fine White Dust (Cynthia Rylant) is a juvenile Elmer Gantry.

The object of these suggestions is to show students themselves. All of us--not just Appalachians--need a firm grounding in the literature that reveals us to ourselves. Such a grounding breaks the barriers between home and school, between region and "the rest of the world"--whether we are Appalachian Baptists on Beaver Creek, Puritans in New England, or proper aristocrats in Britain.

Flannery O'Connor, in an essay called "The Nature and Aim of Fiction" (Mystery and Manners), says of the novelist, "[The] descent into himself will...be a descent into his region" (50). If this is true for the novelist, it is surely true for his reader. For both the child and the adult, self-knowledge and growth toward wholeness, toward "cultural literacy," are predicated on a descent into region.♦

A UNIVERSITY-BASED MODEL FOR LITERACY ENHANCEMENT THROUGH RURAL SCHOOLS

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If the rural schools of the Upper Cumberland region of Tennessee are to become optimally effective, the educational aspirations of the communities served and the resources available to the schools must be increased. Each of these factors is directly related to the levels of literacy of students, teachers and adults who are parents and community members.

The Rural Education Project at Tennessee Technological University proposes to initiate a major thrust in literacy enhancement through the rural schools of the Upper Cumberland. The plan or model is in the process of developing as a variety of persons representing schools, agencies, communities, the University, business and industry provide input into needs and probable solutions.

The Model

As currently envisioned, the Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools model will be two dimensional, conceptual and operational.

Conceptually, scholars have not reached agreement on what precisely constitutes adult literacy. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, promoters of the adult literacy programs defined literacy as the ability to read simple sentences, road signs, instructions in agricultural bulletins, and to sign ones own name. Today, literacy is often defined as functional literacy, i.e., the level of reading and writing proficiency to fill out job applications, calculate interest, and secure and hold a job in a high-tech society. As such, functional literacy includes more than reading and writing skills; it also includes mathematical, computer, and critical thinking skills. The target adult population in literacy programs thus includes two groups, the unemployed and the employed who, though they can perform adequately in their present job, would be hampered in finding employment due to lack of literacy skills should their present position be terminated. At-risk youth constitute another target population.

If the problems of literacy are to be addressed, it is necessary to provide targeted help for the at-risk populations to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to develop the varied literacy skills necessary for full and effective participation in our society, and to modify our approaches to education so that all children learn to reason more effectively about what they read and write and to analyze, elaborate upon, and extend ideas.

Several questions remain to be resolved relative to functional literacy. One is the target population itself. What constitutes functional literacy depends in part on the job requirements which vary within industries and within different regions of the country. Another problem is the lack of agreement on how to measure functional literacy, be it the completion of a certain grade level in school, a standardized proficiency test or the successful completion of the GED.

The solutions to these problems are based in the history, traditions, and cultures of the populations to be served. The analysis of these populations, theorizing about what should and should not be effective, and describing the impacts of programs on individuals and groups are tasks of the scholar. The

University community includes a number of faculty with expertise and experience in education psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, philosophy, and other disciplines who can contribute to the conceptual understanding of literacy enhancement in a rural area such as the Upper Cumberland.

Operationally, the model involves cooperative efforts with area schools and school systems within the Upper Cumberland and a variety of public and private agencies having compatible goals. For the purposes of this project, the Upper Cumberland is defined as the fourteen counties in the Upper Cumberland Development District and the other counties served by Tennessee Tech. These other counties include Sequatchie, Bledsoe, Trousdale, Morgan, Scott, Roane and Grundy. From a practical standpoint, the greater the proximity of a school to the Tennessee Tech campus, the easier program implementation tends to be.

As presently envisioned, the Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools will have three primary foci. However, many projects will combine elements of more than one focus. These three foci are:

Literacy Enhancement Through Community Education. This will include but not be limited to programs in adult basic education, job-related skills training, vocational training, and leisure activity training each of which has a strong literacy component. For example, the idea of establishing computer classes using equipment available in public schools to train adults in the use of computers through software that also teaches basic literacy skills is being explored.

Literacy Enhancement Through Dropout Prevention. The surest way to solve the literacy problem in the long run is to keep students in school until they qualify for high school graduation. With a dropout rate of approximately 30 percent between the ninth grade and high school graduation, the Upper Cumberland region is ripe for drop-out prevention programs. Some of the strategies which have been found to be successful elsewhere and which are being explored include mastery learning programs in basic skills, higher order thinking skills programs, telephone hot-lines for homework assistance, increasing student involvement in non-academic school activities, providing work scholarships to students who do not have the financial resources to be a part of the peer culture, and increasing college access for the poor rural student.

Literacy Enhancement Through Parent and Community Involvement in Schools. When parents are involved in full partnership with schools, academic achievement rises, attendance becomes more regular, and community support is gained. The first step is good school-home communications. Some strategies being explored for initiating and improving these communications are telephone hot-lines for parents, newsletters, school-produced video-tapes to explain the school program to parents, and increasing adult access to the school facilities and personnel in non-threatening ways.

In addition to communication, parents and other adults in the community can be served by schools in such a way that literacy skills are gained through programs which also teach skills. The need to preserve the adult's self-esteem and publicly perceived status cannot be forgotten. These programs might include parent training for employment in the schools as aides, classes and other activities for young parents and parents of preschoolers (particularly the at-risk preschooler), and assistance for teen-age parents who wish to return to school. Fostering of interagency cooperation in local schools and the direct involvement of business, industry, and community groups in schools can also increase school access. Again, each of these projects would have a major literacy component.

The University's Role

The proposed model for Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools is consistent with three of the goals of

Tennessee Tech:

1. To provide opportunities for conducting research, will be supported by funds from both internal and external sources;

2. To help meet local needs by working closely with the various elements of the surrounding community in providing continuing education for adults, cultural programs for the community, educated manpower for local employers, and faculty-student involvement in community service activities;

3. To provide public service by working with governmental agencies in social and environmental policy formation, assisting in finding the solutions to major problems, aiding persons from disadvantaged backgrounds, and being responsive to regional and national priorities in planning educational programs.

Providing direct assistance to the rural schools of the Upper Cumberland to increase their effectiveness is a mission which Tennessee Tech has accepted and delegated in part to the Rural Education Project. If students from the rural Upper Cumberland are to meet entrance requirements at Tennessee Tech and are to succeed in college, they must remain in school and their public school experiences must prepare them to compete against students from more affluent communities having higher educational levels and aspirations. To ensure this, the quality of schooling must increase, and this can happen only if local communities become more literate and more inclined to value formal education.

The Rural Education Project is in its fourth year of working with selected rural schools in the identification of needs and the design, implementation and evaluation of programs to address those needs. The Project has demonstrated that a higher education based program can work effectively with public schools and has developed mechanisms for operationalizing efforts. The Project has also documented the major needs of rural schools in the Upper Cumberland and identified literacy enhancement as a necessary part of the solution.

Specifically, the Rural Education Project proposes to enhance literacy through rural schools using the following mechanisms:

Identification of Successful Programs. There are many successful programs already in place in the schools of the Upper Cumberland and other rural schools. Our task is to identify these programs, study them to determine why they work, publicize them to schools with similar needs, and assist in transplanting these programs. In some cases, existing programs may need consultive or financial assistance to achieve success.

Cooperative Program Initiation. The Rural Education Project director will serve as the liaison between University faculty and local school personnel. Some programs will be cooperatively developed; some will be devised by the school personnel and supported by the Rural Education Project; others will be devised by University faculty and accepted by school personnel. In all cases, programs receiving consultive and/or financial support will be cooperatively implemented with the local school personnel directing the programs with University assistance.

Networking. The Rural Education Project is in a unique position to bring together various persons of expertise from a variety of public and private agencies and to access information not generally available. This networking or linking function enables literacy enhancement initiatives to utilize multiple resources and to interface with one another.

Program Design and Implementation. The University faculty who will be participating in the design of literacy enhancement programs have a level of expertise and experience not generally available to school systems which cannot afford outside consultants. The Rural Education Project provides the mechanism for faculty to engage in school-based project design within the University reward system.

Training. If the literacy enhancement initiatives are to be effective, they must be directed and implemented by local personnel. The proper role of the University is to provide the training which these personnel need in order to carry out the designated tasks.

Evaluation. School systems tend to implement programs and then determine their success informally using subjective indicators. If programs are to be transferable, the extent of their success or failure, the reasons for the results, and (if possible) the factors contributing to relative success or failure must be identified. By including program evaluation as a part of the design, monitoring the evaluation process, and analyzing and interpreting the resulting data, University faculty can assist local school personnel in program modifications to increase the likelihood of program success and provide the information needed for other school systems to determine if a program might work for them.

Dissemination. One of the roles of the Rural Education Project is the dissemination of information among rural schools and to other rural education centers across the nation. Through presentations, publications, consultant work, and informal networking the findings from Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools can be shared.

Funding. The Rural Education Project can serve as a flow-through funding agency for a variety of programs in rural schools. A three-year goal of raising $250,000 from public, private, and governmental sources for Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools has been established. Private donations will be handled through the College of Education Foundation. Governmental or foundation grants will be handled through the College of Education and the University budget process in restricted accounts. All outside monies will be used and accounted for within the guidelines of the funder and the business management policies and procedures of Tennessee Tech to support a variety of projects throughout the Upper Cumberland.

In addition, the Rural Education Project will assist school personnel in the identification and application for additional funds. For example, the Rural Education Project assisted Jackson County Schools in applying for $20,000 from the Appalachian Regional Commission to begin a drop-out prevention program at Fox Elementary School. The Rural Education Project is providing a consultant and other assistance for the program which began in August.

Intended Outcomes

Literacy Enhancement Through Rural Schools should benefit a variety of persons. These outcomes will vary from project to project but should all contribute to the major goal of increasing rural school effectiveness by enhancing the literacy of the community. Specific benefits which may be expected are:

- More adults entering and completing GED programs.
- More adults engaging in community education activities at rural schools including vocationally related skills development.
- More adults participating in school-sponsored activities.
- More adults involved with rural schools during the school day.
- A decrease in the drop-out rate.
- An increase in the number of students involved in non-academic school activities.
- An increase in student scores on college admission criteria.
- Increased financial support for schools.
- Increased school-community communication and interaction.
- Validation of successful programs for adoption elsewhere.
- Scholarly presentations and publications that add to the store of knowledge in literacy enhancement.
- Positive public relations for Tennessee Tech and the various sponsors of the program.♦

OBSERVATIONS ON SCHOOL DROPOUT PROGRAMS IN APPALACHIA

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From working with dropout programs sponsored by the Appalachian Regional Commission over the past two years and from examining several others as well, I can make a number of general observations in regard to successful dropout programs.

The Community Context

- Dropouts are not just a school problem, they're a community problem.

- Community involvement is crucial in any dropout prevention program. This cannot be stressed too highly.

- Getting a community involved in dropout prevention usually requires news media attention. However, school districts may be reluctant to admit that a problem exists in their community.

- There is no "one exemplary model" or "quick fix" for dropout prevention programs. The nature of the community dictates the program. Many of the highly touted "quick fix" projects are little more than good press.

- No matter how good a program is, it cannot be automatically transferred to another location. If local school personnel are not convinced of the worth and value of the program, it will never succeed, no matter how well designed it is or how well it may have worked elsewhere.

- Most districts when planning programs think only of certified school personnel. However, many effective programs are developed around college personnel and students, senior citizens, retired teachers, employees given released time by businesses, and parent and community volunteers.

Getting Started

- In many programs, you'll find one key person--be it a counselor, a teacher, a parent, a superintendent, or a principal--who recognized the problem and took it upon himself or herself to do something about it and to mobilize forces.

- A key for starting programs is for a school district to look at existing resources (staff, materials, program, etc.) and look for ways they can be utilized in dropout prevention. It's not always necessary to add special staff and materials, but just to channel existing resources differently.

- The most lasting programs start small, as something a school district can afford to continue and add to after outside funding has ended.

- The most effective programs appear to come from small grants in the $20,000-$25,000 range. This forces a school district not simply to add personnel, but to focus on the extra push the kids need (materials, for example).

- Too often programs are designed and planned, and then students are placed into them. It should be the other way around; programs need to be designed and planned after looking at the individual needs of the children to be placed into the program.

Designing a Dropout Prevention Program

- Programs need a motivation component; kids need to feel good about themselves. Teachers have the same need. This should be kept in mind when planning a program.

- Programs should be positive rather than negative or punitive in nature. In-school suspension programs and some alternative schools may fall into the negative category.

- The importance of simply caring for the student cannot be overemphasized.

- The most effective programs seek to improve the atmosphere of the whole school.

- Individualization is essential in any program.

- Attendance incentives are important. They can get kids into the school. They may be a hook, but they provide kids a reason to give their peers for school attendance.

- Work-related programs by themselves often look only at providing supplemental monies for students and not at providing them other support services.

- The most successful programs seem to combine or have elements of a variety of approaches: tutorial, counseling and advising, alternative classes, work-related activities, attitudinal and self-esteem activities, attendance incentives, and parental/community involvement.

- Peer and cross-grade tutoring and mentoring programs are extremely effective.♦

A DIPLOMA...DON'T LEAVE SCHOOL WITHOUT IT

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Right now, in classroom after classroom throughout the nation, sit children who will not graduate from high school. They will drop out of school before achieving what today is considered a minimum level of education. For the most part these boys and girls are heading for a lifetime of low-paying dead-end jobs or reliance on tax-financed welfare programs for a meager existence.

The Murray County Dropout Prevention Program **A Diploma...Don't Leave School Without It** can fit into almost any community, large or small. I think there will be something in what I'm going to tell you for everyone, provided your community and your school system can acknowledge that, yes, you do have a problem.

Our program has two parts: (1) a community based component involving industry and business and getting them to not hire dropouts; (2) a school based component identifying potential dropouts and then working with those identified.

Unfortunately there are no easy answers, no accurate measures to determine how many dropouts there are, and no sure fire methods to prevent kids from dropping out. But I'm here to give you at least one community's program and an overview of what we in Murray County, Georgia, have done. And it's working!

Murray County sits in the foothills of the Appalachians, 90 miles north of Atlanta and 40 miles southeast of Chattanooga, Tennessee. We have a county population of 23,000 and a school population of 4,800. There is one Comprehensive High School, one Middle School, and four Elementary Schools. In a recent study done by the Georgia Extension Service, our population has been predicted to double by the year 2000. We have growing problems, overcrowding of schools, little space in the classroom, and yet our county has accepted the challenge of keeping even more students in school.

We are basically a rural county, with carpet as the base of our economy. Over 60% of the world's carpet is made within a 25 mile radius of our county. And the carpet industry is growing, not only in size but in technology. This concern over future growth and the need for a better educated workforce that can handle the new technology is primarily the reason why our dropout prevention program is what it is today.

In February of 1985, Bill Yarbrough, a local carpet manufacturer, began hearing rumors that we had a dropout rate that was among the highest in the nation. He had been seeing a large number of sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds coming through the doors of D & W Carpet seeking employment but had not given it much thought until now. This was soon to change.

To find out if the rumor was true, Bill went to work. First he set up a 60 member Stay-In-School Task Force, through the Chamber of Commerce, of which he was a member. The Task Force had four divisions: 1) Education; 2) Industry Service; 3) Public Relations; and 4) Governmental Affairs. Their first task (and Bill is definitely a "task master") was to find out what, why, and how: **What** was our dropout rate? **Why** did we have such a high rate? **How** was it affecting our community?

What? On a student by student study done over four years (by head count), the dropout rate was determined to be 40%. **Why?** The reason we had such a high dropout rate, the Task Force determined (and remember these are businessmen), was the ready availability of jobs in the carpet industry.

How? - This was found to be affecting our community in many ways. Of 211 families receiving food stamps, 93% were dropouts. Of 104 families receiving assistance, 85% were dropouts. Of the 212 reported cases of neglected, sexually abused, and physically abused children, 80% of the parents were dropouts.

The average grade completed by prisoners incarcerated in the local jail was 10th grade. It cost the state of Georgia $7,665.00 per prisoner per year. This same amount could educate 4.6 children. The cost to the community was staggering. And not only that, the cost to industry was just as dramatic: among employees who were dropouts, the turnover rate was 600%, and there were more Workmen's Compensation claims, more tardiness, more absenteeism, and more health claims.

Having gathered all the statistics, the Task Force decided to put what they had found into a booklet "A Diploma...Don't Leave School Without It" and present their findings to the rest of the community, to business, and the industrial world. Their goal was to get the industries of Murray County to encourage work applicants under the age of 19 who did not have a High School Diploma to go back to school and complete their education.

On August 1, 1985, Murray declared a "Stay-In-School" sign-up day. Task Force members went in pairs to each and every business in the county and by week's end, 90% of all business and industry in the county had signed the pledge.

While this was going on, a community awareness campaign was also underway the "likes of which Murray County had never seen:"

- Task Force members spoke to civic clubs
- Full and half-page ads in the local newspaper
- Posters went up in every business and on every power pole in the county
- A banner from Coca Cola declared the same message
- Radio announcements woke citizens up every morning with the message
- Stuffers went out in grocery sacks
- The Governor proclaimed the day;
- ....The list goes on and on.

During this same month the Murray County Board of Education got word that they had received a grant from the Appalachian Regional Commission to "take it into the schools"! It was perfect timing! The Task Force had been at it for 6 months -- and although not quite burned out, they were more than happy to "hand over the reins" to a coordinator.

Our school program, which has developed in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce, is based on the premise that "real dropouts do not drop out at age 16 -- they drop out in interest in the second or third grade." I think you will find that unlike many dropout programs around the nation ours is not concentrated on the secondary level, but covers all school levels, reaching as low as third grade and, this year, even the parents.

The foundation of our program is a survey of students to determine who our potential dropouts actually are.

While the survey was being taken, committees of faculty, administrators, and teachers were meeting to develop plans for dealing with the potential dropouts, once we knew who they were, and dealing with the problem in the schools. Keep in mind that, being a small community, there was not a whole lot of money to deal with the problem, so the solutions we sought had to be low cost and feasible for teachers, who, like others, had more to do than they had time for.

By the end of the school year 1985-86, the Dropout Prevention Reduction School-Based Action Plans were complete and were presented to the Board of Education for approval. The plans were ready to be put into effect and were introduced to the faculties of every school that fall.

We had ten major dropout prevention programs: at the elementary level, the **Pal Plan** and **Back to Basics/Pass**; at the middle school level, **Teams for Teens** and **Vocational Interest Programs**; at the high school level, **EXPO**, the **Teens in Counseling service**, and the **RAP Patrol**; and, finally, on a school-wide basis, the **Homework Hotline**, **Adopt A School**, and **SOS/Additions**.

Last, but certainly not least, I must mention a School Awareness Campaign that has continued in conjunction with the community PR campaign. All these media give the same message: posters, speeches by former dropouts, bookmarks, reading charts, bumper stickers, puppet shows, letters to parents, and a rug (to show the best integration of industry with education).

In effect, we are "brainwashing" our children into believing that education is important, that staying in school is important, and that completing high school and receiving a diploma is the most important thing of all.

No one has the answer and we certainly do not profess to. But what we do know is that what we are doing in Murray County is working for us.

On graduation night in 1986, as the class of seniors proudly walked down the aisle to accept their diplomas, it was announced that indeed the program had been effective. The overall dropout rate had been reduced by 4%, bringing Murray County below the state average. Since that time the dropout rate has continued its downward trend. With the continued efforts as programs improve and expand, it is expected that the dropout rate will be further reduced, as we aim toward the ultimate goal of a high school diploma for everyone.♦

THE APPALACHIAN DROP OUT PREVENTION OUTREACH PROGRAM TEAM (ADOPT)

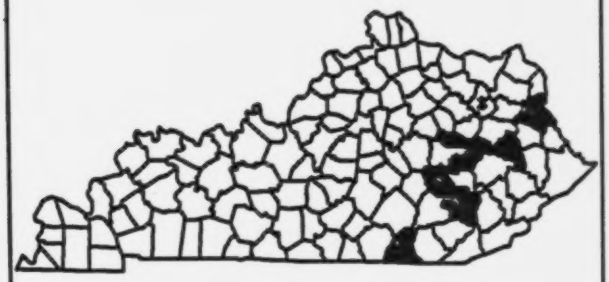
Carole McDaniel
ADOPT Coordinator
Kentucky Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

Note: Jack Gray, Administrator of Kentucky Appalachian Regional Commission Grant projects, participated in this presentation, commenting on the work of the Kentucky Department of Education in several different areas.

The Kentucky Department of Education ADOPT Project is a two-year pilot project for students in grades 7-12, funded by the Appalachian Regional Commission for the purpose of building a community support system in eight Appalachian counties with serious dropout problems. This project places emphasis on school and community involvement and provides the student with personal support that otherwise may not be present at home.

The eight Appalachian counties selected for the project are Clay, Jackson, Lee, Lawrence, Magoffin, McCreary, Powell, and Wolfe.

ADOPT Counties in Kentucky



* = coordinator in Rowan County

A total of 750 students will be served at a cost of $407 per student. (The funding includes a grant of $244,000 from the Appalachian Regional Commission and a local matching amount of $61,000, for a total project budget of $305,000.)

The project philosophy calls for developing a substitute support system around a theme called A.D.O.P.T. (Appalachian Dropout Prevention Outreach Program Team). The following are examples of ADOPT activities:

- **Adopt-a-School** Businesses are solicited to support a specific school's dropout prevention efforts.
- **Adopt-a-Child** A schoolteacher, senior citizen, Big Brother, or Big Sister provides special support for a student at high risk of dropping out.
- **Adopt-a-Family** Stable families, church groups, civic clubs, will work with less stable families to help students stay in school.
- **Adopt-a-Program** Churches, the local chamber of commerce, and civic clubs are enlisted to provide teen recreation and community social service opportunities for high risk students.
- **Adopt-a-Plan** Government offices at local, county, and state levels plan and coordinate resources to address dropout prevention in a comprehensive and cooperative manner.

Each of the eight counties has organized an advisory committee of five to ten members, who may be parents, teachers, counselors, community business people, students, and ministers. The advisory committee in each district is actively involved in developing and implementing objectives of the program. Of course, these objectives vary from district to district, depending on local needs and initiatives.

Each county develops its own program name or acronym (for example, CARE, TOPS, LEAP, or TRACK TEAM) and a central theme to orient its work (for example, "being a friend," or "improving self-esteem"). Each district also develops a set of five program activities to focus energy on. These program components, from all eight counties, include activities such as academic enrichment, incentive programs, career awareness, home visitation, individual and group counseling, media involvement, parent booster club, parenting education, teacher awareness training, teacher or peer tutoring, and volunteer training.

Central to the ADOPT project's design is a two-person specialist team. One team member, the Direct Services Worker, provides direct services on an immediate basis for students at high risk of dropping out; this member's task is to keep students in school while a substitute support system is being built (see job description below). The second team member, the Community Development Specialist, is responsible for building school/community support for encouraging school completion (see job description below). Together, they build a strong support system for the child while providing direct services to the child and family.

Also included in this project is a full-time project coordinator located in Rowan County; this person provides technical assistance to all eight districts in such areas as project development and approval, in-service, evaluation and monitoring (see the job description below).

Community Development Specialist

1. Condense books and convert into teenage terminology and understanding level.
2. Establish and coordinate the activities of a dropout prevention advisory committee.
3. Evaluate the program daily, weekly, and monthly,
4. Make referrals of students to other agencies when necessary.
5. Participate in the selection of potential student dropouts by gathering background information.
6. Provide career awareness opportunities by local resource persons, including some job site visits.
7. Provide parenting and volunteer training.
8. Recruit volunteers and solicit local businesses, civic groups and individuals from the community for the dropout prevention program, e.g., Adopt-a-Student, etc.
9. Serve as public relations person for the ADOPT Project.
10. Write weekly newspaper articles.

Direct Services Worker

1. Confer with teachers about students' progress.
2. Evaluate program and progress of students daily, weekly, and monthly.

3. Help students develop and/or improve decision-making and life skills.
4. Help students improve organization and study skills.
5. Keep individual records on each identified student.
6. Participate in selection of potential students by gathering background information.
7. Provide individual and group counseling services.
8. Provide tutoring services for individual students.
9. Work closely with the parents through home visitations.

Project Coordinator

1. Assist in the identification of eligible students for program participation.
2. Confer with teachers and evaluate students' and program progress as required.
3. Keep individual records of each identified student and of program activities.
4. Make referrals of students to other agencies when necessary.
5. Promote community/school and parent awareness of, and involvement in, the dropout prevention program.
6. Provide assistance and leadership with the identification of the dropout prevention program objectives and the planning, implementation, and coordination of these objectives and activities.
7. Provide individual and group guidance activities along with tutorial sessions to meet the needs of the identified students.
8. Provide technical assistance to teachers and volunteers regarding dropout prevention.
9. Serve as public relations person and speaker for civic groups for the dropout prevention program.
10. Solicit the support of local businesses, civic groups, and individuals within the com munity (e.g., Adopt-A-School, etc.).
11. Survey and investigate community attitudes and role perceptions in regard to dropout prevention, and utilize resources of the community, parents, and support personnel in meeting student needs.
12. Work to improve communication within the school system and between schools and the public.♦

AN INNOVATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM: FORWARD IN THE FIFTH

Woody J. Barwick
Pulaski County Superintendent of Schools
Somerset, Kentucky 42501

I'm Woody J. Barwick, Superintendent of Pulaski County, representing the Executive Committee of **Forward in the Fifth** (JoAnne James, Chairman). My topic for today's Conference on Education in Appalachia concerns dropout prevention and innovative programs for school improvement.

Crucial issues in improving education in the Fifth District

In March of 1986, I was privileged to meet with Dr. John White, E. R. Purdon, Earl Wallace and Elbert Hudson regarding school improvement programs for the Fifth Congressional District of Kentucky. I believe Forward in the Fifth was born on that day at Shakertown.

E. R. Purdon is quoted in his presentation as follows: "This presentation is a summary of views regarding the public school dropout issue in the Fifth Congressional District. It presents the practitioners' assessment of the issue, and I am indebted to the local school superintendents who contributed their knowledge and opinions.

Even though the dropout issue is pronounced and recognized as a detrimental force in the development of the area, one must ask if local school leaders recognize these conditions and, if so, what action they are taking to address the problem appropriately?

We conclude our summary: the future then requires a support group, foundation perhaps, that could focus on this issue and give school systems and communities the kind of structure needed to make meaningful progress. The effort must be a sustained one. Too many times, interest is shown in a problem, only to evaporate as other issues appear. School superintendents are all too aware of this here-today-and-gone-tomorrow approach to dealing with educational issues. If we want real change, we must build sustained financial and educational support from community and business leaders. Only then can real progress take place. "Between the thought and the reality, there falls the shadow."

Forward in the Fifth is born

A wave of enthusiasm for education has sprung to the forefront in southern Kentucky, and promises to stir the mind and arouse the ambition of the 110,000 children of the District. In a region found by the 1980 Census to have the lowest educational achievement level of any of the nation's 435 Congressional Districts, the hope for educational improvement and reform is burning brighter than ever before.

- Business and civic leaders have incorporated Forward in the Fifth as a non-profit movement to bring all resources of the District to bear directly on a better educational environment for these 110,000 young minds.
- Local Forward in the Fifth groups are forming in every one of the District's twenty-seven counties.
- Local Chambers of Commerce are attacking the dropout problem in their communities.
- School districts are raising the daily attendance rate of their students.
- Programs of small grants encourage teachers to try new ways of motivating and teaching their students.
- Administrators and teachers from

thirty-eight school districts are meeting together to exchange ideas.

- The colleges and universities that serve the District have formed a consortium to work together to raise the college-going rate among the District's high school graduates and adults.

- The Kentucky Council on Higher Education and the Kentucky Department of Education have given the District $60,000 to develop new and better ways to teach mathematics and science to the District's school children.

- The Ford Foundation has awarded a $150,000 grant to bolster this unprecedented educational crusade.

And dozens of other initiatives arise every day for this one purpose: to better educate this generation of students of Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District.

Where and when did this movement begin? The spark was struck in the minds and hearts of some of the leaders of the Fifth District on May 22 and 23, 1986, in a restored Shaker wash house, now a conference building at Kentucky's historic Shakertown at Pleasant Hill. There the District's leaders came together to hear a special **Case Study of the Fifth District** prepared by the world-renowned Battelle Institute of Columbus, Ohio, and the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED), a leading think tank and action group for Appalachian problems.

There are pivotal points in the history of a nation, or a state, or even a Congressional district, when something happens that forever changes the future, for good or ill. Such a point for Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District, one of the most economically depressed districts in America, came on May 22 and 23, 1986. A conference in the renowned Shakertown Roundtable series brought together experts, educators, state leaders and much of the civic and business leadership of the Fifth Congressional District to consider the region's education system and economy and to develop strategies to move its people forward toward prosperity.

The conference linked development of economic opportunities with improved education and training. On the first day, the economic development specialists at the Battelle Institute laid out their analysis of what types of industry and jobs were well suited to the area, and suggested steps to build those opportunities.

There are pivotal points in the history of a nation, or even a Congressional District, when something happens that forever changes the future, for good or ill...

On the second day, the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED) reported their findings that people in the district understood the value of education and were ready to work for better schools and wider opportunities. Successful experiences in improving educational attainment were described by a rural high schoolteacher, a rural textile company president, an urban civic leader, and leadership from within the district and around the state. After these two days talking together in a restored Shaker wash house, some 80 men and women rose to take actions that were unprecedented in this state, and perhaps the nation.

It was not only what happened at the conference that is so historic and filled with import, but what has been happening ever since. At the close of the conference the Fifth District's Congressman, Harold Rogers, told the 80 participants: "I hope that we will have more than another study that will gather dust on the shelves, along with the ten thousand other studies of this district and others." In the months that followed, his hope was realized. People who care about the Fifth District are moving forward:

June 1986: Eliot Wigginton, a teacher well-known throughout the country for his remarkable success in inspiring poor, rural students and a presenter at the conference, gives a one-day workshop for teachers from the Fifth District. On another day, a Fifth District school superintendent brings a busload of teachers and administrators to hear Mr. Wigginton. These teachers were representing Pulaski County Schools.

July 1986: Impressed by the energy and commitment conveyed at the conference, the Appalachian Regional Commission provides $50,000 to staff a district-wide program dedicated to improving education, as called for during the conference.

August 1986: A Somerset, Kentucky, businessman arranges for John Dashler, a conference presenter, nationally known for his attack on the dropout problem in Dalton, Georgia, to speak with Pulaski County business leaders about his work. The local chamber of commerce establishes a program in Pulaski County modeled on Dashler's.

August 1986: Al Smith, vice chairman of the Shakertown Roundtable and one of the instigators of the conference, writes and distributes to newspapers throughout the district a series of fifteen articles on the issues raised at the conference.

September 1986: Thirty conference participants form a permanent organization to strengthen the thirty-eight school systems throughout the Fifth District.

October 1986: All thirty-eight Fifth District school superintendents are invited to a meeting to plan for the new organization.

On October 20, Forward in the Fifth is launched. Kentucky Governor Martha Layne Collins, Congressman Harold Rogers, and co-chair of the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) Winifred Pizzano address the capacity crowd gathered to launch the effort.

A board of directors of forty-one civic and education leaders and activists and an advisory board of twenty-seven others commit themselves to building the new organization. The group sets its agenda:

- develop affiliate groups in every county;
- improve attendance at all schools;
- reduce the dropout rate;
- improve science and math instruction;
- raise the expectations of students, parents, teachers, and communities;
- increase the percentage of high school graduates going on to college.

November 1986: Forward in the Fifth issues its first newsletter.

December 1986: Forward in the Fifth sponsors a Showcase Conference at Barbourville's Union College, with over 200 educators, school administrators, and business leaders sharing in presentations and workshops featuring successful improvements initiatives in the Fifth District. David Bergholz, president of the Public Education Fund and also a Shakertown Roundtable presenter, gives the keynote address. Executive committee member Rebecca Davidson from Clay County brings people to their feet with a stirring talk about how to reach students.

Forward in the Fifth initiates a District-wide program to improve school attendance, including some $8,000 in cash awards.

January 1987: A consortium of colleges and universities that serve the Fifth District is formed to train and deploy volunteers throughout the District who will counsel students and parents about college-going opportunities.

Forward in the Fifth issues its second newsletter.

February 1987: Forward in the Fifth begins organizing local affiliates in all parts of the District and develops proposals that emphasizing dropout prevention programs for younger children.

The Kentucky Council on Higher Education awards a $60,000 Title II grant to fund a Forward in the Fifth program to improve science and math instruction.

March 1987: Proposals are presented to the Ford Foundation, the Mary Reynolds

Babcock Foundation, the Hazen Foundation, and the Appalachian Regional Commission, for educational and economic advancement programs in the district.

March 1987: The Ford Foundation grants to Forward in the Fifth $150,000 to be used over the next two years, and other foundations are considering requests.

March 1987: Meetings to form local affiliates are held in twelve communities, and over 1,250 individuals are now involved in Forward in the Fifth.

WHAT DO PEOPLE IN THE FIFTH DISTRICT THINK ABOUT EDUCATION?

Presented by Dr. Cynthia Duncan, Director of Research, MACED

We found three overriding themes when we talked with people about education in the Fifth District: First, we need to understand that even though educational quality lags, the students are as smart as those anywhere else. Second, the people of the District do care about education, and diverse groups actually have much common ground in their concern and ideas for reform. Finally, the people of the District agree that improvement of education is a task for all the people, not just educators and professionals.

MACED's study found that parents and students in the District value education, and many parents make great sacrifices to see that their children get a good education. But the children face greater obstacles than those in more prosperous regions. Many come from poor families, and their parents are often poorly educated themselves. The problem is compounded because the region has a tax base of only $64,000 per pupil, compared with $106,000 in the Fourth District, and $89,000 for Kentucky.

Many people told the interviewers that the expectations within the schools were too low. Parents complained that the schools were too easy, while teachers said that many parents don't motivate their children well. Some of those interviewed said that students are sometimes prejudged at school by their appearance and family background and are not encouraged to continue their education, even when they are good students.

Politics was mentioned by many as the greatest obstacle to improving education within the District. In many poor, rural counties, schools provide the majority of available jobs, and patronage rather than merit determines who gets hired. The study found that the most highly-politicized school districts have the highest dropout rates and poorest achievement levels. All the schools that were politicized provided lower quality education.

Some personal notes regarding success

The Pulaski County Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution to ask employers to require all employees below 21 years of age to be (a) a high school graduate (b) a GED recipient or (c) verification that one is working to further his or her education. The Pulaski County Board of Education dropouts annually decreased from 195 in 1984 to 94 in 1987, a decrease of 101 which may represent five (5) minimum foundation units and result in $100,000 more revenue.♦

THE EASTERN KENTUCKY TEACHERS NETWORK

Debbie Bays, EKTNetwork Coordinator
Carol Stumbo, Wheelwright High School
Susan Wood, Estill County Middle School

The Eastern Kentucky Teachers Network is a unique educational venture in a part of our state where the need for education reform is irrefutable. The network is unique because of its membership, educational philosophy, supportive collaborators, and, most importantly, its potential for growth and development.

The membership is composed entirely of practicing public school teachers, from kindergarten through high school, from the region. The network's 40 members began their involvement with the network through the Foxfire Seminar at Berea College. Each of these teachers completed a two-week seminar learning and discussing the importance of hands-on teaching techniques with Eliot Wigginton and the Foxfire staff. Every summer, 20 teachers from eastern Kentucky come to Berea College with the energy and determination to change the current traditional teaching methods used in their school systems. These teachers return to their schools, meet with their students, and produce magazines, radio, video programs, plays, record albums, and more. Throughout the school year, the teachers and students meet with the network coordinator and other network teachers to discuss and analyze their teaching methods. At the end of the school year, the teacher and his/her students analyze their learning processes and write case studies of that experience.

Indeed, the educational philosophy is the touchstone of this network. Each of these teachers has created a classroom environment that illustrates a philosophy, honed by the Foxfire staff in Appalachian Georgia, that not only insures that students acquire the basic academic curriculum but simultaneously takes them far beyond into an understanding of self, family, community, culture, society, and the larger world -- and most importantly an understanding of the potential each has to make a positive, sensitive contribution to that world.

What follows is a description of a project, carried out in just such an environment by Susan Wood's seventh grade language arts class in Estill County.

BREAKING GROUND - A SEVENTH GRADE PHOTOGRAPHY PROJECT

SUSAN WOOD, ESTILL COUNTY MIDDLE SCHOOL

I like this project because we are breaking ground for other students. -Boyd Henry, 7th grade

The photography project Boyd is referring to was incorporated into a seventh grade language arts class at Estill County Middle School in Irvine, Kentucky, during the 1986-87 school year. At the time, it didn't seem important to the students in my fourth hour language arts class to give a name to what they were doing. "Serendipity" would have been a good name because the whole project was really a marvelous accident, but we've been calling it Breaking Ground, informally ever since.

As a seventh and eighth grade language arts teacher, I am responsible for one hundred and eighty students a day. I teach three classes of seventh graders and three classes of eighth graders. Plodding along at the end of the 1985-86 school year, I was wrung-out and hungry for innovation. The first tremors of

Breaking Ground began during the Summer of 1986 during a two week seminar with Eliot Wigginton at Berea College sponsored by the Mellon Foundation.

One of the invigorating aspects of the seminar was the close scrutiny of the educational needs of Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District to which Estill County belongs. I learned that the Fifth District is home to the nation's least educated adults. Bill Duncan from the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development cited statistics for us. In Estill County, thirty-eight percent of the adults have a high school degree, with only seven percent having attended college. The per capita income is $4,400, and forty-two percent of our children are considered economically deprived.

In 1986, our school district ranked 144th out of 180 districts in the Kentucky Essential Skills Testing. In areas relating to spelling and writing from our middle school, percentages of mastery are alarmingly low. By the time our eighth graders leave the middle school to enter high school, the statistics reveal that 44.1% of them will not graduate from high school; only 29.8% of those who do graduate will continue their education in college.

During the seminar, I developed a hypothetical project based on experiential learning to be tried in the fall with one class. Experimenting with one class seemed like a fine beginning for a first timer. I targeted an eighth grade class to work with because experience had taught me that eighth graders were harder to motivate.

I returned to school in the fall of 1986 inspired and anxious to begin. My goals and objectives for all six classes were standard and based on recommendations from the national Council of Teachers of English, the Kentucky Program of Studies and essential skills test, and our school's writing curriculum. During the first few days of the school year, all my classes were given diagnostic pre-tests taken from the textbooks (each class has three) and a writing assessment. Since my classes are ability grouped, I chose a remedial eighth grade class to pilot the community-bases radio show project I had developed at Berea.

At this point, I intended to teach the other five classes just like I always had, but it soon became evident in every class that I had changed as a result of my Foxfire experience. By the end of the year three of my six classed had followed comprehensive major projects throughout the school year. Two of these projects, one a radio show and the other a school newspaper, are stories for another day. The story of the third project, Breaking Ground, began with an unexpected visitor.

One day in September, a cameraman from Channel 36 in Lexington came into my fourth hour class of high level seventh graders. The principal escorting the cameraman explained that most everyone else was at lunch and he hoped we didn't mind the intrusion. The students loved being taped, and the cameraman wouldn't tell us what the taping was for. He just urged us to watch the six o'clock news that night. The next day we watched the video tape in class, and the students loved being on television. After they'd watched themselves forward and backward five times, they watched once more and this time they LISTENED to the news broadcast.

Channel 36 had done a depressing report about the Fifth District, the poor quality of education, and so on. We were the pictures behind the words! The seventh graders became upset, taking the report as a personal insult, and were suddenly anxious to talk about their education. We were involved.

So our project began then and there with the first of what would become many class discussions. Our county had just declared bankruptcy earlier that week, and students were concerned about the many problems facing our community.

Community pride and regional pride came out quickly during this discussion. The students wanted to prove that their education and congressional district were not "the poorest in the nation."

First, we focused our discussion on positive things the students remembered about their education from grades one through six. Some of their responses: "We went on a nature walk in fifth grade to learn about the kinds of trees, flowers, and grass." "In kindergarten I learned to write." "We drew pictures of things that we were studying." "I was elected princess." "We went to the dentist's office in first grade and saw his false teeth." "Being in 4-H was real fun because it taught me how to do different things." "I was the star in a play." "I helped the teacher in second grade." "One time in first grade we went to the public library to read." "Last year we made our own environments in jars."

Then we made lists of common elements that made up a good class. "Students have a choice of what to learn first." "Projects about everything around us." "Soft chairs." "Field trips." "To be able to talk when you have a question and not have to hold your hand up forever." "Making a chart to see where you are going." "Games." "Computers." "Discussions." "Working with partners."

STUDENT: We hadn't agreed yet on what the project was going to be, but we knew it had to do with photography and writing. We needed cameras and film so we could take pictures. We wanted to learn more about the Estill County using writing and spelling and photography. We planned to have guest speakers and field trips.

From here we extrapolated qualities of a good teacher: " A teacher who is happy." "Let's us know who's boss." "Likes kids." "Doesn't lose her temper." "Honest." "Enjoys his job." "Cares." "Fairness." "Makes you want to learn." "Organized." "Helps you find answers." "Able to communicate." "Helps us set high goals." "Listens to our problems." "Makes learning fun." "Flipping the coin, we discussed elements of a good student: "Wants to learn." "Likes her school." "Knows what is going on." "Participates in class." "Well behaved." "Serious." " A good thinker." "Has a good attitude." "Does not cheat." "Cooperates." "Has good parents." "Doesn't complain."

Finally, we were ready to tackle our year. How could we make our class the best it could be? After discussing and generating exhaustive lists for the other questions, the students were incredibly stymied when asked to apply these qualities to our class here and now. The most common suggestion was field trips followed by the suggestion that we hold more spelling bees. One student said, "We need to have good cooperation. We should work in pairs." They really didn't know how to change the unit-textbook-test pattern.

To help generate ideas for a project, I showed them a chart of the Kentucky essential skills for seventh grade, and we discussed the academic agenda for the year. We agreed that any project we considered would have to meet those requirements as well as incorporate the elements of effective learning we generated from earlier discussions.

They listed possible ideas, all incorporating writing skills, and we discussed the possibilities. Students took notes while we drew a decision tree on the board. After every idea had been considered, students composed paragraphs explaining their personal choices and why. The paragraphs were evaluated for thesis and supporting detail.

The class was unable to agree on any one particular project at this point, but the one element to come up over and over in the project choices was photography. We decided to write a project proposal to Foxfire, Inc. As one of the students put it: "We talked about it. We decided we wanted a photographic writing project. We worked in groups to write a grant. We wrote paragraphs about our county and other things."

During the grant writing process, students were taught many things about the writing process. They worked with partners, they brainstormed, they listed facts, and they wrote descriptive paragraphs which became part of the whole proposal. They began to understand the role of audience and purpose in a writing attempt, and they found themselves considering each word's choice in terms of meaning and effect. They didn't ask if spelling counted; they knew spelling and sentence structure, and every part of the grant proposal mattered. One day's lesson led logically to the next and we began to be able to accomplish much of the grant writing in larger groups with everyone being equally productive.

STUDENT: We decided to do a project to show other districts we're smarter than they think we are. We discussed what we want the project to be. We made a decision tree.

What was I learning in the process? I couldn't get over how quickly we were covering concepts and objectives that I once spent days and days drilling. Students were eager to learn and motivation was not a problem! Lesson plans were easy too. I taught a punctuation lesson straight from the essential skills list as we needed it, and they understood. Periodically I would remind them of our real purpose: the academic agenda. They didn't really need the reminders. They knew why they were there and what they were doing. I began to feel overwhelmed by the energetic ability those students had for learning.

After our mini-grant proposal was sent out, we began preparing for our photography work. We took a field trip to the Berea College Appalachian Museum to see a special exhibit of historic photographs of settlement schools in Kentucky. While on the field trip, students filled out a chart rather than take notes. The chart asked them to list four interesting things they saw and then jot down details for each answer. Students were also asked to view each photograph in the special exhibit and then write down the name of their favorite one. No one had any difficulty with either assignment.

When we returned to the classroom, we learned how to write an essay following the same writing process we used for the grant proposal, but more complex. Using the chart as an outline, students worked in class to compose a draft of the essay. For the first paragraph, students developed a topic sentence from their answers to question one on the chart. The paragraph was supported with sentences formed from the additional details. They followed the same formula for each paragraph.

Editing of the drafts was accomplished according to group work. Each group was given a different color or marker and a group-chosen proofreading task. These tasks were chosen based on our skills list and students identified the skills they felt they should be responsible for. Papers were circulated throughout each group and read several times. Then students rewrote their drafts making corrections. This draft was then revised one more time using partner conferencing. The final drafts were written in ink and submitted for a grade.

STUDENT: We should give these old pictures to the archives because maybe one of these days someone might be wondering about Estill, and they could get information about some of the churches, houses, and people we have old pictures of.

After viewing the special exhibit "Children of Progress and Tradition: Photographs from Settlement Schools of Appalachia" at the Berea College Appalachian Museum, we were ready to examine the elements of good photography. We discussed the exhibit, the students' personal favorites, and what made a photograph memorable. I passed out copies of old interesting photographs, and the students wrote fictional accounts to go with the pictures. These were exchanged in groups and then presented to the class. Then I passed out the true account explaining each picture. The old photographs and stories were from the "out of the Attic" column from back issues of Country Journal magazine which prints them as a monthly feature.

We devised a class assignment also called "Out of the Attic."(See end of article.) Each student was asked to find a good old photograph from 1940 of earlier. They recorded the story that went with the photograph by interviewing the owner of the picture. These stories were then written up and brought to class. Students presented their photos and stories to the class while the rest of us took notes and asked questions. This assignment was graded in three parts: the picture, the oral report, and the written essay.

While most of the presentations were given informally by individual students, Dena Riddell invited her grandfather, Tommy Riddell, a retired history teacher, to be her guest presenter. Mr. Riddell talked to us about Dena's great, great grandfather, Dr. David L. Webb, who was the owner of the first coal mine operated in east Kentucky. Dr. Webb sold the mine to earn money to go to Berea College. Mr. Riddell brought a model train and chunks of coal to aid in his discussion.

After hearing all the presentations, we realized that we had uncovered a gold mine of valuable and fascinating Estill County history. We brainstormed possible outcomes for the project. Once again the student wrote lists, discussed as a class, and then wrote a paragraph supporting their choices for an outcome. Three decisions were agreed on: to make a calendar, to submit the pictures and stories to Country Journal which pays fifty dollars for each one it prints, and to donate copies of the photos and stories to the archives at the state university.

The calendar idea was the big project and immediately students began bringing sample calendars to class. In no time at all, we had a display of many varied and unusual calendars in the back of the room. After several weeks of contemplation, we discussed our options and then each student wrote a calendar blueprint. These paragraphs included details of size, shape, layout, design, dates, events, history, writing, and photographs. Some of the blueprints ignored using the Out of the Attic photographs and instead favored only new student-taken pictures. Other blueprints were the opposite, but the majority of the students wanted to use a combination of the best of both.

It was at the point that we heard the news. Our mini-grant from Foxfire was funded! We needed to make decisions about what to do with the money. A student committee finally purchased two Pentax 1000 cameras, $175.00 each, and thirty-five rolls of black and white film, $3.35 a roll. None or us knew the first thing about how to use them.

Students tried taking a camera pretest where they labeled as many of the parts as they could. Most of the parts they named creatively for lack of a better term: "Knob," "button," "switch," "what you push," "side," "back," "key," "flap," "hooks," "magnifying glass," "top," "eye hold," "the picture taker," "turner," "snapper," "winder," "film connection," "tongues," and "the bottom." My own answers weren't much better.

The class brought in a list of possible resource people to help us in our photography exploration, and students arranged for the guest speakers. Our first speaker, Rocky Burkhardt, self described as "The Mountain Artist" had just opened The Spirit of Appalachia Museum in Irvine. Among his many talents, Mr. Burkhardt is also a photographer. He explained with illustrations how a camera worked, how film is developed, and why people take photos. He emphasized what makes a good photograph. As a parting gift, he autographed and presented us with two of his pictures.

After Mr. Burkhardt's presentation, we wrote thank you letters and composed questions for our next speaker. Carol Puckett is a high school student who works part-time as a photographer for a local newspaper. The students chose her to teach us how to take a good picture. Her lesson was exceptionally informative and the seventh graders were enthralled. She covered loading and unloading the film, using the lens cap to save batteries, adjusting the light meter, checking ASA, and focusing clearly. She passed around examples of both good and bad photographs from her portfolio.

Again, the next day we write thank you letters to our speaker. We also composes letters to parents telling about our next field trip, and we designed a photo identification sheet. The photo identification sheet gives space for the photographer to jot down the photo number, his/her name, subject of the photo, and names of any people in the picture.

With photo identification sheets and loaded cameras in hand, we set out on our next field trip. We traveled to the University of Kentucky in Lexington where we visited the Special Collections of the King Library. Every student took at least two pictures for practice sometime during the trip.

Before our visit to the archives we had arranged with the audio-visual archivist to have our Out of the Attic pictures duplicated and then left with the narratives to become part of the permanent collection of the archives. We took the pictures and stories along with signed permission slips from the owners and left them at the library. The originals were returned to us a few days later with a copy made for our use. The people at UK talked about making an exhibit or our project there.

We were ready to begin taking photographs in earnest. We made a check-out chart and posted it near the locked storage cabinet where equipment is kept. We designed some rules and procedures for using the camera, and, after looking at Wendy Ewald's book Portraits and Dreams, we also designed an assignment system to follow.

Two students each day took cameras home with a photo identification sheet. Each student took eighteen pictures and then returned the camera and identification sheet to school for the next student to use. Of the eighteen pictures, one was to be of an animal, one a family portrait, one a self portrait, one of a place, and one of a dream. The remaining shots were "free choice." Again, the inspiration for this assignment come from Wendy Ewald's work with the children in Letcher County.

Our film was developed and printed at a local drugstore, and besides the expense, it took a week to process. Waiting was difficult but finally we began to see our results!

STUDENT: Mrs. Worth was one of our guides. She took us on a tour of the building, and she showed us many old books. We saw one of the first handwritten dictionaries. We learned a lot about writing in Mrs. Worth's speech. We learned about early books, printing presses, and authors. Mr. House showed us very interesting pictures. He showed us pieces of glass with pictures on them. He also showed tintypes and interesting pictures of people during the early nineteen hundreds. He talked about how pictures were made in early times. He told us a definition of photography: "Something written in light."

Evaluation of the pictures was done in small groups. Each group catalogued mistakes and problems with the final prints. The list generated included: "Not enough light," "out of focus," "blurry, " "no motion," "fingers cut off," "light meter out of place," "fence in the way," "not close enough," "spotted," "overexposed," "film not ready to take pictures," and "need to get the whole picture into it."

The groups also wrote up positive evaluations of which picture they liked and why. "Rachel's dam -different textures." "Beth's Kentucky River -clear and shows water flowing." "Jennifer's Levi, her dog-good action." "April's White Oak Mountain - good detail." "James's nightmare - unusual." And so on.

Next, we began making decisions about which photos we would use for our calendar. We called this assignment the "Pick of the Crop." Again, students worked in groups of three. Each group picked one photo from each member of the group. They wrote a critique and a page identifying the photo including a title, who took it, who is in it, what's happening, and why they chose it. These were displayed with the photo, one on each desk. Students rotated around the room from desk to desk considering the choices. Then back at their own seats they composed a list of their personal twelve "picks."

About the time we completed this picture selection process, we discovered we only had two weeks left in the school year! We agonized briefly, and then we made the decision to scrap the calendar project for this year. During a large brainstorming session, the class made a list of alternative possibilities. From that we chose eight projects to pursue and chose people to be responsible for each idea. Everyone agreed to pass the calendar idea and initial plans on to another group for consideration next year.

The eight projects the students chose to pursue included the making of a scrapbook entitled "Breaking Ground," the exhibiting of our photography at the public library in the summer, the publishing of our photography in the newspaper, the launching of an after-school photography club next year, the building of a darkroom for the school in the future, the displaying of our photography on the bulletin board near the office at the start of next year, the submitting of pictures to some photography contests this summer, and the convincing of our school literary magazine to accept student photography next year.

We used the remaining time in the school year to hold a press conference with the newspaper, to set up our first exhibit in the public library of some of the Our of the Attic pictures, and to write captions for the new work. Students generated a list of important details that captions should include, wrote the paragraphs, revised with peer editing, and then rewrote.

The year ended with several loose ends, and so we had one final discussion about the future. Several students expressed interest and delight in the opportunity to come to school every two weeks during the summer to change our library exhibit, make a scrapbook, work on this case study, plan the fall bulletin board, and help with some in-service preparations to present this project.

How successful was this project? Student evaluations were very positive. They liked "taking pictures because it's fun." "Learning to use a camera and going on field trips to help us learn." "That we were all working together because we hardly ever do." "The idea of us starting the project of breaking ground." "Taking the cameras home." "Writing for Foxfire was interesting."

When asked to explain how the photography project related to language arts, students showed they could transfer the year's activities into skills. Most answered that they had learned how to write. One student added, "In language arts, we speak with words; in photography, we speak with pictures."

Analyzing achievement test scores for this particular class is difficult. Since all of our language arts classes are ability grouped, and this particular group was an above-average class, it would be unfair to compare their scores to my other seventh grade classes. In addition, scores are not given to us according to grouping or by teachers even. All I could do to evaluate the quality of learning for this project was to look at individual student progress.

Every student in this class did as well or BETTER on the Kentucky Essential Skills Test than they were expected to do, based on prior scores. The pre and post writing assessment I administered to this class showed that every student made gains. The same writing prompt, one intended to elicit a description, was used at the beginning and at the ending of the year. Most students chose different topics the second time, but one student, who says she didn't remember writing the one in August, wrote almost the same paper in May. The differences, however, reveal the language the language skills she had acquired.

Every student wrote paragraphs for the post-assessment reflecting the learning I had aimed toward. Although it wouldn't be admissable as courtroom evidence, my instincts, intuition, and insights into the individual students assure me wholeheartedly that this project was a success. Why? Students learned because they corrected as they rewrote. They learned because they cared about the project. They learned because they cared about community pride. They learned because they had a role in designing their learning. They learned because they knew what was needed to learn. They learned because they knew why they needed to. They learned because they had me to respond to them and help guide them. They learned because they had each other.♦

OUT OF THE ATTIC

Photography and Writing Assignment

1. Talk with parents, relatives, friends, and neighbors about old photographs. Look for a good old photo to use in this class project. Remember our discussion about what makes a gook old photo. Try to find one from the 1940s or even earlier, the older the better IF it meets some of our criteria: Does it have a story? Does it show details? Is it interesting? Does it tell something about the past?

2. When you have found a photograph, you will need to record the story. One way to do this is to tape record the person as he/she tells it to you. This you can then write up later. Of course, you can also take notes while you listen. You must be accurate! Remember what you have learned about what makes a good story. Is it well developed? Does it have a beginning, a middle, and an end? Are the details clear? Does the story go with the picture?

3. After you have written the story, you will present it to the class. Reassure the picture's owner that you will take excellent care of the photo. Bring the photo and story to class to share with us. If you taped the story, you may play the tape for us, or you may even want to invite the storyteller to class to speak in person! Be sure, however, you decide to present the story, that you also have a written copy to be turned in.

Note: Inquiries about the Network may be addressed to Debbie Bays, Coordinator, Eastern Kentucky Teachers Network, PO Box 377, Whitesburg, KY 41858.♦

APPALACHIA AND THE THIRD R

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'Rithmatic (being the third R) seems to be one of those areas in which children experience difficulties. It is not a local problem. All children nationwide experience difficulties with mathematics.

In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I. The program operated until Congress passed the Education Consolidation Improvement Act, Chapter I, in 1981. The purpose of this program is to upgrade math and reading skills when students need extra help.

The State Department of Education divides the federal monies so that each school district gets a share. Harlan County's money is based on the number of students from low-income families. The assumption is that there is a correlation between low-income families and children who qualify for Chapter I class placement.

Although income is a factor in determining the amount of monies received, it has no bearing on the selection of students for Chapter I classes. Students qualify for Chapter I placement if they score below the 49th percentile on the California Test of Basic Skills. The placement process starts with students having the lowest scores and continues upward with scores until the classes are filled.

The following project, based on the Foxfire Method of Creative Instruction, was proposed by the Green Hills Elementary 7th Grade Chapter I class.

To teach by the Foxfire method, one must in essence lose complete control in order to gain control. The children decide what needs to be done and what activities will be done to achieve the goals they have set. They must work within the guidelines set forth by state and local educators. Green Hills Chapter I 7th Grade has to meet the criteria for the Kentucky Essential Skills and the Harlan County Curriculum Guide for Mathematics Grade 7 General and Specific Objectives.

> The project we propose is a math project which will be inclusive of various mathematical concepts. It will involved the 7th Grade Students who are participants in the Chapter I Remedial Mathematics Class at Green Hills Elementary School. The project will be completed within a six week time period (approximately 30 school days). The major activity and goal of this project is to complete a 60" x 60" wallhanging from the Mosaic Square quilt pattern. It is a symmetrical design that will enable us to combine a practical skill with mathematical skills. The areas we expect to gain skills in are addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions, and measurement.
>
> The project will also include the construction of a quilting frame. These skills along with practical experience will help us develop mathematical skills and logical thinking skills.
>
> --Chapter I 7th Grade Class

Harlan County Curriculum Guide for Mathematics Grade 7 General Objective #8 deals with the child's functioning within his environment. The premise is basic life skills. A basic skill of mountain people for hundreds of years has been quilting. Often we do not realize the amount of mathematical genius that has been employed in the design and construction of a quilt. We have taken for granted the skills of our elders. The art of quilting is very precise. The actual quilting stitches are approximately 1-2 millimeters long. The piecing is time-consuming and must be accurate.

Curriculum Guide Objective #8 makes the Foxfire method conducive to creative instruction. It enables us to address Eliot Wigginton's statement (from the 1986 Berea Foxfire Seminar), "It is desirable, even essential, to the extent that is possible, that we fill our curriculum with 'things Appalachian', while teaching the basic skills." (See Table 1 below.)

It is important that we teach our children "where they are." We need to bring about a more positive self-image of Appalachia and ourselves. For our children to succeed, we must have a chance for success. Not only must we challenge our students, we must also challenge ourselves.

Table 1 During our quilting project, the following Mathematics Objectives from the Essential Skills lists for grades 3-8 will be met, as specified at the right:

Grade 3	
MO3009 Measure in inches, feet, yard, centimeters, or meters.	Measurement of wood for quilt frame, of material purchases, of cutting for quilt squares, of overall finished product.
MO3011 Estimate length to the nearest inch, foot, centimeter, or meter.	Making rough estimates of materials in inches and feet, measure quilt parts by metrics for added interest.
Grade 4	
MO4005 Identify fractional parts of sets, objects, or areas.	Make fractional part of quilt designated colors (e.g., what fraction is navy?)
MO4006 Identify relationships between points, lines, segments, or angles.	Play games of direction using quilt once finished or on black and white diagram.
MO4O07 Determine whether an angle is larger or smaller than another.	Determine angles using quilt squares.
MO4014 Find the perimeter of squares and rectangles drawn on graph paper.	Determine perimeter of squares by using the black/white design pattern in book.
MO4015 Find the area of squares and rectangles drawn on graph paper.	The area of squares may be drawn on graph paper to plot design of quilt.
MO4018 Identify lines of symmetry in simple figures.	Lines of symmetry may be found all through the quilt pattern.
Grade 5	
MO5006 Identify equivalent fractions.	Equivalent fractions may be found throughout; $\frac{1}{2} = 8/16 = 4/8 = 2/4$, etc.
MO5007 Write fractions in their simplest form.	Must write fractions simply to enable easier measuring.
MO5008 Add fractions or mixed numbers with like denominators.	Students will have to add fractions and mixed numbers throughout the project.

MO5009 Subtract fractions or mixed numbers with like denominators.	(Similarly with subtraction.)
MO5019 Measure length to the nearest ½ inch or ¼ inch.	Students will have to measure to the nearest ½ and ¼ inch in all stages.
Grade 6	
MO6001 Make a drawing, diagram, or model to illustrate a given problem.	Students will draw/diagram the layout of the quilt pattern.
MO6009 Identify appropriate units to measure length using traditional or metric system.	Students will use inches, feet, centimeters, and meters, to measure quilt squares, quilt frames, and finished product.
MO6010 Identify appropriate tools to measure length using traditional or metric system.	Students will use rulers, yardsticks, meter slides, etc., to measure quilt squares, quilt frames, and finished product.
MO6011 Identify by name parallelogram, trapezoids, quadrilateral, rhombus, pentagon, hexagon, or octagon.	Students can identify numerous geometric designs by looking at and studying quilt designs.
MO6012 Estimate the length of a given object in either traditional or metric units.	Estimate the length of a quilt in either traditional or metric units. (Show hand/chest method for measuring yardgoods.)
MO6013 Measure the length of a given object in either traditional or metric units.	Measure the length of a quilt or quilt frame, material, etc., by traditional or metric units. Take measurements by yards, meters, feet, inches, centimeters, etc.
MO6021 Given the formula, find the area of a square or rectangle.	Calculate the area of squares and rectangles in a quilt.
Grade 7	
MO7012 Identify similar figures.	Identify similar figures in traditional quilts. Use geometric figures and quilts containing geometric design.
MO7013 Identify congruent figures.	Use quilts and assembly to show congruent figures and formations.
MO7014 Perform calculations involving conversions between units within a system (length, capacity, area, volume, mass, time).	Students will perform calculations involving conversions between units such as inches and feet (e.g., 60 inches = 5 feet).
Grade 8	
MO8004 Perform calculations using percents of whole numbers.	Will determine percents such as what percent of quilt is white, navy, etc.
MO8007 Given the appropriate formula, find the area of a square, rectangle, triangle, or a circle.	Students will determine area of squares, rectangles, triangles, and circles, using standard quilting blocks.

AEL'S RURAL SMALL SCHOOLS PROGRAM: EMPOWERING CHANGE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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Many serious needs plague the rural communities and schools of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, the four-state region where the Appalachia Educational Laboratory (AEL) focusses its attention. AEL has mounted a new effort, the Rural Small School (RSS) program, to help meet these needs.

The problems of rural communities in the region affect their schools. Unemployment, for example, is high in our region, and it is highest in the most rural counties of the region. Both educational resources and educational outcomes, on the other hand, are comparatively low in these counties. In a nationwide study of rural small schools, educators in our region identified many more problems than did educators in other regions; and the problems were judged to be more severe here than elsewhere.

Rural leaders in AEL's region have been hard-pressed to solve these problems so the strategy of the RSS program is to provide a structure to assist local leaders in addressing these problems. Though the term of the RSS program is rather short (it is scheduled to end in May of 1989), it should produce long-term as well as short-term benefits.

AEL's Rural Small Schools Program

The backbone of the RSS program is the School-Community Partnership model. The lab will carry out one demonstration of the model in four small rural school districts or divisions that serve students from disadvantaged backgrounds, one in each of AEL's four states. During the period of demonstration, summer 1987 through summer 1989, the focus of the partnerships will be on school improvement. We've identified a pool of 79 districts or divisions in the AEL region as potential demonstration sites. We'll make our final selections with the help of an advisory group in each state.

One test of our strategy will be whether or not the partnerships continue to develop after the program ends. In fact, we hope that if the partnerships continue, they will undertake community development projects in addition to school improvement projects. The figure on the next page shows how the AEL School-Community Partnership model is conceived. In the following discussion, phrases referring to structures in the figure are underscored.

In each demonstration site, AEL--working with the local school board--will establish a School-Community Steering Committee, composed of equal numbers of official and unofficial leaders from the rural small school district and from the rural community. The School-Community Steering Committee will have four tasks:

- to create and maintain the Local Resource Center;
- to create study groups to identify important needs;
- to decide which changes should be made and to create planning groups for the design of such changes; and
- to recommend to the school board and local government the implementation of one plan for educational change.

The Local Resource Center will house the studies and plans created by the temporary study and planning groups charged by the School-Community Steering Committee. It will also include other materials about rural small schools gathered from AEL and other outside information sources.

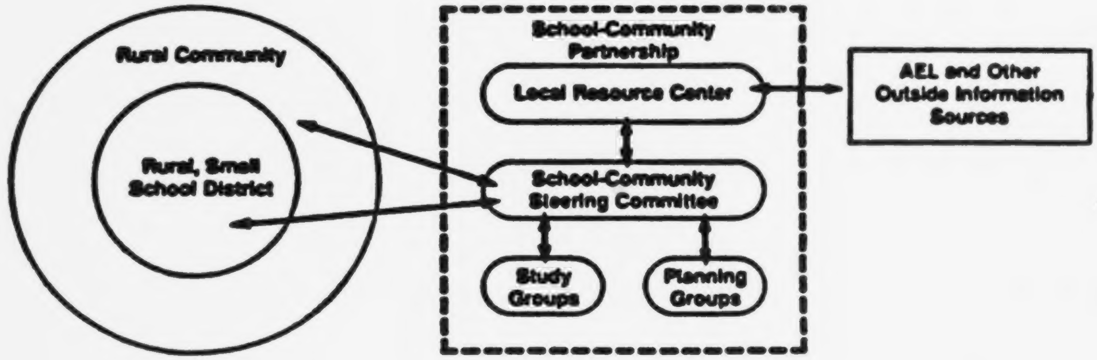
Rural Community
Rural, Small School District
School-Community Partnership
Local Resource Center
AEL and Other Outside Information Sources
School-Community Steering Committee
Study Groups
Planning Groups

Figure 1

The School-Community Partnership

Lab staff will provide assistance every step of the way, from selection of the districts through evaluation of the improvement project adopted by the boards of education. RSS program staff will include Todd Strohmenger (Director) and Craig Howley (Research & Development Specialist).

The district superintendent and the school board president will be ex officio members of the steering committee. We believe their influence will be critical to the acceptance of the model by the school district and the community. Other features of the RSS program will include the following:

- AEL's newsletter, The Link, will include a new insert, **The Rural School Companion**, specifically for rural small schools. All rural school districts and divisions will receive copes of the newsletter and insert.

- The RSS program will identify promising practices used by rural small schools in the AEL region; results will be shared in **The Rural School Companion** and with other Regional Education Laboratories.

- The RSS program will participate in a status study of rural small schools, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

The University of Kentucky Study

A great deal remains to be learned about the relationships that characterize rural schools and their communities. Since that relationship is the focus of the School-Community Partnership model, the RSS program offers researchers a good chance to study that relationship.

AEL and the University of Kentucky submitted a special proposal for funds to conduct a study of what happens in the four RSS demonstration sites and why it happens that way. The study is being conducted by Dr. Alan DeYoung, a professor in the department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at the University of Kentucky. He has published a number of articles about rural education, and he specializes in Appalachian studies at the University.

Dr. DeYoung and his staff will attend RSS meetings as observers; they will interview community members, students, and educators; and they will observe the effects of the School-Community Partnership in each of the four communities. The report of the impact study will be ready in May of 1989. In addition to the study and its report, Dr. DeYoung will also develop training materials to help others conduct similar studies of rural schools and their communities.

Looking Ahead

The AEL Rural Small Schools program is off and running. It is designed to produce long-term as well as short-term benefits to the rural small schools and their communities of the demonstration sites. It aims to empower local educators and citizens to make the changes they want. In addition, the impact study will generalize these benefits to a much wider regional and national audience.♦

THE NORTH CAROLINA CENTER FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY INNOVATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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On a golden Tuesday afternoon last October, twenty public school teachers from all over North Carolina began arriving at Madison Hall on the Western Carolina University campus. These teachers were the participants in the North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching seminar, Humans on Earth: The Blue Ridge Experience. In this paper I will tell the story of their week in that seminar, discuss the unique mandate for the Center's work, and outline the rationale for how our programs are developed.

Madison Hall, a beautifully rejuvenated football players' dorm, serves as home base for the Center while a new building especially designed for teachers is being constructed. For three days, teachers called Madison home, lived dorm style, and enjoyed sessions with seminar leaders in the newly redecorated seminar room. That October afternoon, after an orientation to the Center and its programs, the teachers ate a hearty meal, specially prepared by the university food service, and then settled in to study the interaction of human beings and their environment in North Carolina's Blue Ridge region.

The thesis of the Blue Ridge seminar is that geology and geography strongly affect human history and culture in an interactive process over a long period of time. The first evening the teacher-participants viewed a video tape on the Gaia hypothesis, the notion that the Earth behaves as a living organism, maintaining homeostasis in its systems through a variety of compensating mechanisms. After the showing, seminar leaders Dan Pittillo and Allen Moore, university biologists, led a spirited discussion over the controversial Gaia theory, exploring ways in which truth and falsity are established in science. Around ten the session was formally over, but Dan and Allen stayed on to talk informally with several teachers. Sometimes it's two a.m. or after before everyone has wound down from one of these sessions.

On Wednesday, the first full day of the Blue Ridge seminar began with an optional exercise program---jogging, walking biking, or aerobics in the Center's exercise room. After a breakfast at Brown cafeteria, teachers were introduced to the orogeny of the Appalachian mountains through an evolving historical viewpoint, beginning with James Hutton's system of the earth and culminating with plate tectonic theory, as explained by Cyril Harvey, geologist from Guilford College. Lunch was followed by time for recreation and reflection, an important component of every seminar. The late afternoon seminar sessions focused on the ecology of the Blue Ridge region, culminating in a leisurely bus ride through the foothills of the Great Smoky Mountains to dine at the Randolph House, a country inn. The evening was free, an opportunity to read, reflect, or as many teachers chose to do, join in conversation with colleagues. The networks that begin at the Center, we find, frequently persist; some teachers even arrange follow-up sessions on their own.

Thursday's seminar sessions dealt with human history and prehistory in the Blue Ridge. Archaeologist, historian, and biologist helped to understand relationships between humans and the land through the eyes of the Cherokee, the Scotch-Irish, and twentieth-century mountain people. Projections for the future of Appalachia were the topic of a session led by former Western Carolina University Chancellor H. F. Robinson and the other faculty of the seminar.

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On Friday, the Blue Ridge seminar moved to the field. The group crossed the crest of the Smokies at Newfound Gap and descended through the glories of an Appalachian autumn to the Great Smoky Mountain Environmental Education Institute, where, again living in simple dormitory style, we had a closer encounter with our subject. The Institute, tucked alongside a tributary of the Little Tennessee, has access to all the resources of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park.

We first encountered the Institute staff in a living history presentation; dressed in period mountain garb, the staff role-played valley residents of the time when the Park was being developed. As we hiked along a woodland trail, we encountered residents with many points of view, some emphasized with vintage firearms. Our task was to reconcile the interests of all involved in the Park controversy. Following a delicious family style dinner at the Institute, teachers spent a delightful evening with Dwight McCarter, backcountry ranger and raconteur extraordinary, whose incredible stories of a career in the wildest areas of the park were punctuated by accounts of a wild man, Beast McCormick, and extraordinary slides of centuries old tree trunk carvings.

Another full day and a half at the Institute featured a seminar about the balancing act involved in the multiple purposes of the Park, an evening exploration of the frontier preservations of Cades Cove, authentic mountain music, and a hike to the primeval forest of Andrews Bald. Needless to say, it was a tired, but happy group of teachers that returned on Sunday evening to Madison Hall.

The seminar came to an end Monday morning with an evaluation session. The Learning Research and Development Center of Pittsburgh is conducting the formative evaluation of Center programs; teachers were asked to complete an extensive written instrument and to conduct group discussion of Center procedures and goals. Teachers were also invited to make their own suggestions for future Center programs. By this time, participants and staff too were old friends, and parting was sometimes tearful. We promised opportunities to visit again, and they were off, rewarded, refreshed, and renewed.

The Center for the Advancement of Teaching has a unique mandate. First, we are charged with rewarding outstanding teachers through an exciting intellectual experience. I think this is fundamentally important because it underscores the notion that learning is inherently a pleasant human activity, an activity that one might look forward to with enthusiasm and even gusto. I don't mean to imply that teachers shouldn't be rewarded in other ways, such as salaries commensurate with their educational backgrounds and degrees of proficiency, but it does seem to make sense to provide an incentive that speaks directly to the primary function of teaching, to encourage intellectual development. I am confident enough after 40-odd seminars to assert that teachers do indeed find the kind of intellectual experience that the Center provides very rewarding indeed. Evaluation summaries by the Learning Research and Development Center show that almost all Center alumni have found the seminars to be intellectually stimulating and rewarding.

The second unique aspect of the Center's mandate is the impetus to provide a forum for teachers to engage in scholarly discourse in the arts, sciences, and humanities regardless of their current grade level or subject assignments. The Center does not sponsor physics seminars for physics teachers, but it does sponsor seminars in "New Visions of the Cosmos" for those who are not physics teachers. The Center does not provide programs on teaching strategies, nor does it hand out any packages of materials or methods to be brought back to the classroom. I think that this aspect of the Center's work is a very pleasant surprise to our teachers; there are no exams, no grades, no classroom follow-ups, no strings attached.

I am sure that this sounds like some kind of intellectual joy-ride, and maybe it is, and maybe that isn't such a bad idea. The notion that learning can be fun, is worthwhile for its own sake, might just be an important one to convey these days.

Beyond the intellectual stimulation of a no-strings-attached seminar lies an important niche in the current educational reform agenda that I believe the Center for Advancement of Teaching is beginning to address. Some reforms have made good use of the research on effective teaching, which connects specific teaching strategies with desired outcomes. Other "new" reforms emphasize the nature of teachers' knowledge, how that knowledge is acquired, and how it is shaped and implemented in successful classroom practice (Shulman, 1987). Performances, content knowledge, and pedagogical knowledge are unquestionably vital components of excellence in teaching, but I think they don't give us the whole picture.

There are qualities of excellence in teaching that we all recognize that go beyond what is commonly addressed in the reform agendas. I would number among these qualities a teacher's own intellectual curiosity, a quality which can be incredibly infectious. I also think of a teacher's own excitement about learning something new, and the ability to convey that excitement. I remember teachers who saw the connectedness of the phenomena of the world, who helped me integrate rather than disintegrate my learning. I am sure the list can be extended with qualities that aren't on any checklist or cognitive map, but nevertheless are as much a part of excellence as subject matter or pedagogical competence. The Center seeks to enhance and support such qualities of teaching excellence that are not being directly addressed by other reform programs.

We believe that, to be effective in enhancing teachers' intellectual growth within the time constraints of the seminars, Center programs must focus on certain critical assumptions about the nature of teaching and learning.

1. Each seminar in some way must examine the nature of knowledge as it is understood in the modern sciences, humanities, and the arts. This means demonstrating that knowledge is tentative, dynamic, and growing in every field, and that every field has its own syntax for determining how knowledge will be acquired and validated. Thus, our programs seek to assemble participants representing multiple points of view, encouraging the need for integration and synthesis; teachers who themselves are diverse in geography, age, and academic discipline. Through the seminars teachers are encouraged to recognize that every field has within itself divergent viewpoints on what constitutes knowledge, and that education itself is no exception to this generalization.

2. It follows from our assumptions about knowledge that the Center should present topics of an interdisciplinary nature, those unlikely to be available in textbooks or to be confined to a single academic field. In this way participants are encouraged to interpret information from a variety of perspectives using a variety of paradigms. A similar method is used in seminars in which a familiar topic will be examined using new methodologies or in light of new questions.

3. Recent research into the nature of intellectual development indicates that learning can occur in at least two ways. First, we can all learn new facts, principles, and generalizations that fit in with our existing intellectual structures, or ways of perceiving the world. Secondly, we are all capable of developing new intellectual structures that are more comprehensive and adequate in understanding the world (Sprinthall & Sprinthall, pp 107-136.) The Center is primarily concerned with intellectual development in the second sense, and in accord with that concern attempts to ensure that seminars include experiences that create opportunities for reflective, critical thinking.

4. Follow-up of the seminar experiences is essential if they are to have any lasting effect. Networks of seminar alumni have

been encouraged to further communications between alumni, and to provide mutual support in carrying out the purposes of the seminar. Periodic reunions have been arranged to further continue and support the work of the seminars; the first of these involved 150 teachers for "Humans versus the Atmosphere."

We also encourage seminar participants to devise their own research projects, to become active in professional associations, and to view the creation of academic knowledge as an ongoing process. The most eminent scientists retain the curious questioning attitude of a ten year old child; such thinkers, at once learned and eager for knowledge, should be the models for our teachers and students.

A few final words about Center staff and future programs. Center programs are developed and implemented primarily by the Director, Associate Director, Coordinator of Teacher Selection, and the four Center Fellows. The Center Fellows are the core personnel in the creation of new seminar themes, the selection of outstanding seminar leaders, and the coordination of the seminar schedule, but all Center staff are encouraged to participate in the process. The Fellows come from a wide variety of academic backgrounds, currently including modern languages, educational administration, bi-lingual education and music, and philosophy.

A team of five program associates provides logistical support. The program associates' task includes food, transportation, lodging, contacts with seminar leaders, ad infinitum. Program associates make it possible for fellows to concentrate on the content of their seminars.

The Center for the Advancement of Teaching has forty seminars planned for 1988. We will also present three alumni seminars, and a smattering of programs for special purposes. Our goal is to serve approximately 1000 teachers this year, with an eventual goal of 2000 teachers yearly when our new building is completed. It is an ambitious new program with worthy goals, and I am proud to be a part of it.

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PARENT AND CHILD EDUCATION (PACE) PROGRAM

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In 1986, the Kentucky General Assembly appropriated $1.2 million for a two-year pilot program. This pilot program, the Parent And Child Education (PACE) program, is an innovative union of adult education and early childhood education.

The PACE program is targeted for families with one child that is three or four years old and one or both parents without a high school diploma or high school equivalency certification.

In the past, undereducated adults and their preschool children have been served by separate educational programs. PACE is providing an educational opportunity for two generations concurrently. By serving the family as a unit PACE hopes to help break the strong, intergenerational cycle of undereducation and poverty.

The PACE program has three main components: adult education, early childhood education, and parent education. These components are integrated into a regular school day. Parents and preschool children ride the bus to school together, three days a week. During the day parents attend adult education classes, and preschool children attend an early childhood education program.

The parents also participate in a parent education program that includes direct interaction with their children in a variety of ways, such as eating with the children, helping to supervise outdoor play activities, cooking playdough with the children, and building block structures with the children.

The PACE program was designed to meet the following stated goals:

1. Raise the educational level of the parents of preschool children through instruction in basic skills.
2. Enhance parenting skills.
3. Increase developmental skills of preschool children to better prepare them for academic success.
4. Enable parents to become familiar with and comfortable in the school setting.
5. Provide a role model for the child of parental interest in education.
6. Enhance the relationship of the parent and child through planned, structured interaction.
7. Demonstrate to parents their power to affect their child's ability to learn.
8. Encourage early identification and treatment of physical or mental handicaps that may inhibit children's learning ability.
9. Encourage identification and treatment of any handicapping conditions in the adult that may inhibit their ability to care for their children.

The funding of PACE was a reaction to some facts and attitudes that may or may not be unique to Kentucky, but are certainly strong barriers to educational and economic improvement in the state of Kentucky. Kentucky well exceeds the national average both for unemployment (10.4%), and for children from birth to five years old living in poverty (24.7%). Kentucky is also 50th in the nation in its number of high school graduates and ranks #1 in white teenage pregnancies.

Fifty-one of the 120 counties in Kentucky were eligible to apply for the PACE program. These 51 counties met the criteria of having 60% or more of the adult population in the county without a high school diploma. Six districts operated PACE programs in the 1986-87 school year, and this year (1987-88), eighteen PACE classrooms are in operation in twelve counties. The participants are Bell, Butler, Estill, Fleming, Hart, Letcher, Owsley, Magoffin, Metcalfe, Monroe and Spencer counties, and Harlan Independent.

Initial assessments of the PACE program were conducted in the spring of 1987. The adult PACE participants are most likely to be white females in their mid-twenties who have been out of a formal school setting for about nine years and have completed the eighth grade.

For this presentation, we will draw from our research relating to the following three measurable objectives: (1) Seventy percent of the parents in the program will successfully complete the GED test and/or raise skill levels on TABE (Test of Adult Basic Education) by two grade levels and/or enroll in further educational or job training programs; (2) Fifty percent of the parents in the program will complete at least one planned cycle of the program; (3) Parents' willingness to communicate with school personnel and other appropriate social service agencies will improve, as measured by frequency of contact.

During the academic year 1986-87, 48.86% of the PACE participants earned their GED by May. However, at the time of the data collection, 20 PACE participants were waiting for their GED test results and some of the participants were planning to take the June GED examination. (At the time of this study, pre and post TABE scores of the participants were not available.) In general, the PACE participants stayed 8 months in the program.

Although 36% of the participants reported changes in their communications with school personnel, it is difficult to make an accurate judgment on this, because of the lack of pre-program assessments. However, participants did not indicate that they had contacted other social service agencies.

All of the mothers (100%) reported that they thought their child was ready to go to kindergarten. The reasons they listed fell into two categories: social skills and cognitive skills. The mothers reported that skills needed for their child to be ready for kindergarten were some of the same skills that their child had learned in the PACE program, such as easy separation from parent, getting along well with other children, sharing, knowing numbers and colors. These results speak to the goal of the PACE program to increase developmental skills for preschool children to prepare them for academic success. In the parents' perception, the PACE program did increase the developmental skills of these preschool children. Also, these parents think their children learned skills that will help them be successful in kindergarten.

Parents also perceived that they had not only the power, but also the tools to teach their children necessary skills. They listed these skills when asked what the PACE program was teaching their children. This may indicate that the parents feel a partnership with the teachers in their child's learning.

Preliminary results appear positive, and a more comprehensive research program is being implemented for the 1987-88 school year.♦

TRAINING FOR APPALACHIAN PRACTICE (TAP) PROJECT: A MODEL FOR TRAINING APPALACHIAN HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS

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We live in pragmatic times. The economic realities of the 1980s have transformed the most solid of progressive politicians into fiscal conservatives. The American people, we are told, want practical solutions for real problems.

This trend is also evident within Appalachian scholarship and activism. Many of us, who have been attending conferences such as this one during the last decade, have made some adjustments in our thinking when it comes to problems and solutions. It surely can be said that not only have we heard it all before but we probably have heard most of it twice.

This paper addresses one of the on-going real crises of mountain life, that of health-manpower shortages. It also highlights a possible pragmatic solution: the training and deployment of physician assistants.

What are Physician Assistants?

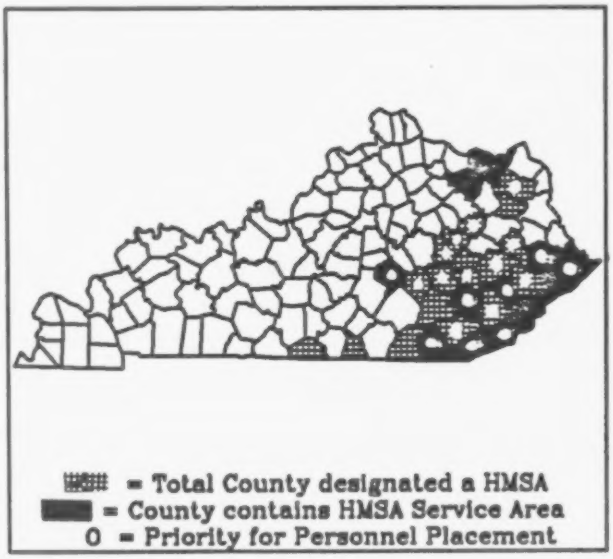
Physician Assistants (PAs) are skilled members of the health care team who, working under the supervision of licensed physicians, provide a broad range of medical services in hospitals, HMOs, nursing homes, rural and urban clinics, & private practice.

The physician assistant provides routine diagnostic therapeutic health care so that physicians can spend more time on patients' complex needs.

PAs, working with physicians, promote more efficient distribution of health care services and can improve access to care in rural and underserved communities.

In the summer of 1981, the Courier Journal, in an excellent series, "The Battle of Appalachia," says "... of the 49 Appalachian [Kentucky] counties, 31 are 'critical' health manpower shortage areas -- the state's designation for the worst health care areas...and there are 'medically underserved areas' in 45 counties."[1]

In 1986, 29 counties in Appalachian Kentucky were still designated, either totally or partially, as primary care Health Manpower Shortage Areas (HMSAs) and, of these, 21 were rated as critical enough to request the high priority placement of National Health Service Corps personnel. The 1986 data also revealed that 60% of the HMSA designated counties in Kentucky were Appalachian counties.[2]


▦ = Total County designated a HMSA
■ = County contains HMSA Service Area
O = Priority for Personnel Placement

The National Health Service Corps (NHSC), a program of the U.S. Public Health Service, offers educational scholarships to health care professionals who agree to practice for at least four years in a federally designated HMSA. During the last 15 years, the program has placed some 16,000 health care workers -- mostly physicians -- in medically underserved areas, helping slash the number of such communities from 6,000 to fewer than 2,000. Yet national solutions, such as National Health Service Corps (NHSC), to these on-going regional problems have recently experienced fiscal setbacks. For example, the NHSC's budget has been severely reduced during the last few years. The effects are obvious, since the NHSC granted about 2,000 scholarships annually during the 1970s but awarded only 35 scholarships in 1986.[3]

A recent report on the status of health care in Appalachian Kentucky concludes that these "...cutbacks in government spending, combined with an economic depression in the coal fields, threaten to create economic barriers to the continued improvement of health conditions in Appalachia."[4]

Another national trend that has addressed the needs of medically underserved areas has been the increased use of mid-level providers (i.e., Nurse Practitioners, NPs; Certified Nurse Midwives, CNMs; and Physician Assistants, PAs) and other allied health professionals. A 1982 report of the American Medical Association states that there is a trend by office-based physicians to use more full-time equivalent non-physician personnel in their practices. In addition, within all the categories that have experienced significant increases, Allied Health Professionals (AHPs) are shown to have had the largest percentage increase.[5]

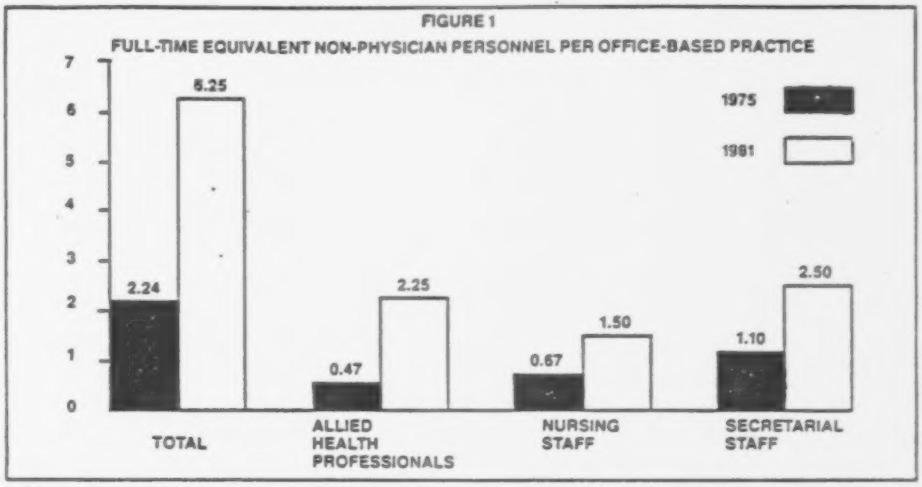


FIGURE 1
FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT NON-PHYSICIAN PERSONNEL PER OFFICE-BASED PRACTICE

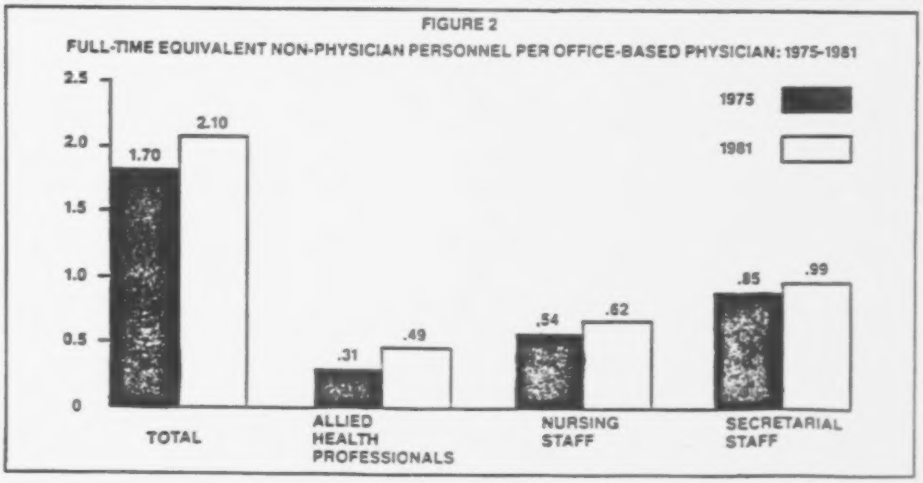


FIGURE 2
FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT NON-PHYSICIAN PERSONNEL PER OFFICE-BASED PHYSICIAN: 1975-1981

That same report also indicates that within the AHP category, mid-level providers produce very positive consequences for those office-based physicians who utilize them (see below).

In 1986, the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) of the Congress of the United States made these observations:

- Within their areas of competence, Nurse Practitioners, Physician Assistants, and Certified Nurse-Midwives provide care whose quality is equivalent to that of care provided by physicians.
- In addition to improving access to care in rural areas, [mid-level providers]...increase access to primary care in a wide variety of non-geographic settings and for populations not adequately served by physicians.
- Productivity studies indicate that NPs and PAs working under physicians' supervision can increase total practice output by some 20 to 50 percent.[6]

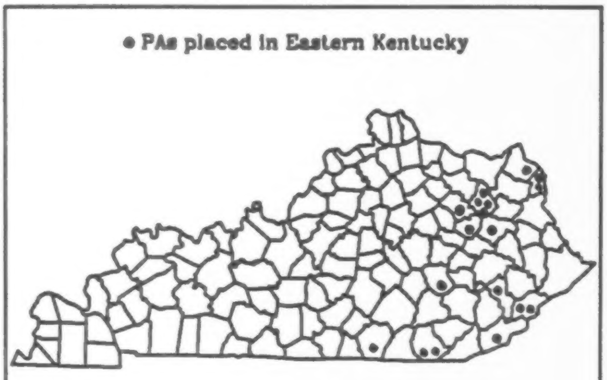
The 1986 OTA Report also concludes that "... using NPs, PAs, and CNMs rather than physicians to provide certain services would appear to be cost-effective from a societal perspective."[7]

This national trend towards utilization of mid-level providers should encourage us to think that there might be a practical and realistic solution to the health manpower shortage problem in Appalachian Kentucky. Yet, recent estimates by the UK Department of Physician Assistant Studies show that the approximately 500 primary care physicians practicing in Appalachian Kentucky are employing fewer than 20 physician assistants (see map at right). Nationally, about 20% of all PAs practice in communities of less than 10,000 population and that ratio has remained constant for about a decade. Although PAs have contributed significantly to improving geographic access to health care in rural America, the trend has not been duplicated in a mountainous, rural region predominated by exactly that type of community.[8]

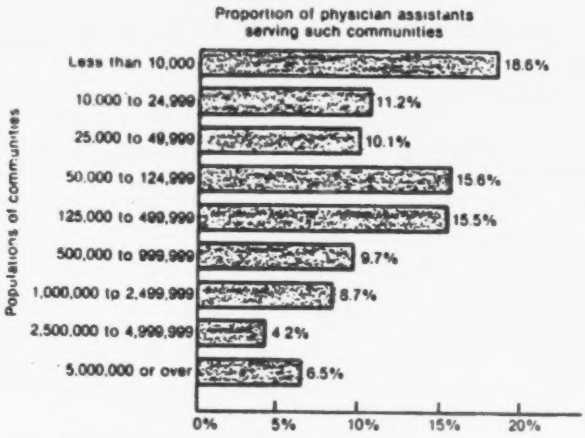
CONSEQUENCES OF PHSYCIAN EMPLOYMENT OF SELECTED AHPs, 1981

	Employment of Nurse Practitioners or Physician Assistants	
Practice Characteristics	None	Some
Patient Visits Per Hour*	3.2	3.9
Patient Visits Per Week*	86.2	103.1
Physicians' Weeks Worked Per Year	46.6	46.7
Physicians' Net Income* ($000)	93.7	106.0
Office visit fee for established patient	$23.19	$22.45

Differences in values are significant at the 1% level.



Distribution of Physician Assistants by Size of Community



Average community population = 980,235

SOURCE. American Academy of Physician Assistants, *1984 Physician Assistant Masterfile Survey* (Arlington, VA: 1984).

In response to the need for health manpower in underserved areas of Appalachian Kentucky, the Department of Physician Assistant Studies at the University of Kentucky designed a three-year (1986-1989) training and deployment project, Training for Appalachian Practice (TAP), which was funded by a grant from the Bureau of Health Professions (part of Health and Human Services). This project is being conducted in cooperation with two Area Health Education Centers (AHECs) in order to improve deployment of PAs to this region.

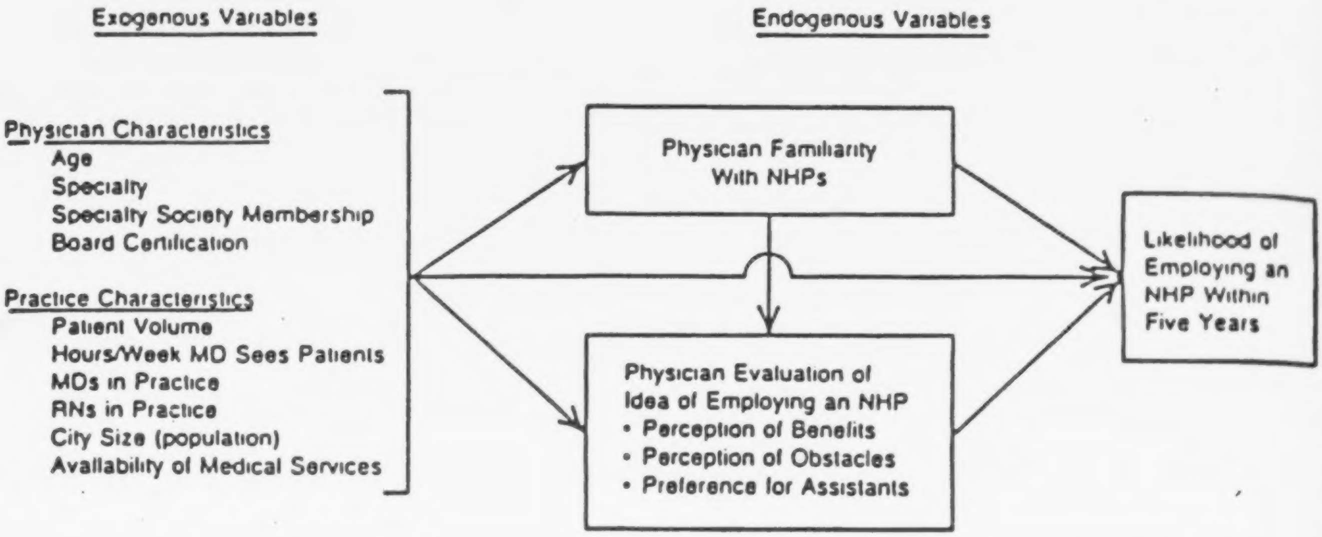
Several models have addressed the deployment of mid-level practitioners during the last decade. The Cherkin Model analyzed and assessed the relative importance of a variety of constraints affecting the employment of mid-level practitioners by physicians in Washington state during the mid-1970s.[9] Cherkin conceptualized the physician market for mid-level providers as follows:

> There are four conditions which must exist before a physician will employ [mid-level providers]...A physician must... be familiar with [mid-level providers], believe there will be some benefit, foresee no insurmountable obstacles, and prefer [mid-level providers] to other health manpower.[10]

Although the Cherkin model establishes basic parameters to the issue of mid-level practitioner employment, it has two major shortcomings as a framework for deployment. First, it is a physician-based causal model with little emphasis on the "mid-level providers" and their personal traits, their training, and their inclinations towards practice. Second, Cherkin did not clearly prioritize which factors are most important for employment. This is important, since the TAP Project hopes to develop effective intervention strategies within an atmosphere of limited resources. Moreover, Cherkin's model does not emphasize the special needs of Health Manpower Shortage Areas. The very structure of the model influences his assessment of the deployment of mid-level practitioners in Washington state. He concludes that "despite the generally favorable opinion of physicians about [mid-level providers], physician preference for working with other physicians in conjunction with a rapidly increasing supply of primary care physicians may greatly limit future employment opportunities for [mid-level providers]..."[11]

In contrast to Cherkin's physician--oriented focus, the TAP Project has established a two-track training and deployment model that attempts to address both **physician** utilization of PAs and **students'** preferences for practice (see next page).

The methodology includes two inter-related strategies: the design and implementation of an Appalachian Studies curriculum for students and the increase of employment opportunities within health manpower shortage areas in Appalachian Kentucky counties. The Appalachian Studies component includes: (1) didactic seminars on Appalachian history, culture, economy, and health care (see summary below); (2) clinical training in the Project area; and (3) pre- and post-tests for


Exogenous Variables
Endogenous Variables
Physician Characteristics
Age
Specialty
Specialty Society Membership
Board Certification
Practice Characteristics
Patient Volume
Hours/Week MD Sees Patients
MDs in Practice
RNs in Practice
City Size (population)
Availability of Medical Services
Physician Familiarity With NHPs
Physician Evaluation of Idea of Employing an NHP
• Perception of Benefits
• Perception of Obstacles
• Preference for Assistants
Likelihood of Employing an NHP Within Five Years

Causal model of physician market for NHPs illustrating hypothesized paths.

HURDLES TO CROSS AND TAP STRATEGIES FOR DEPLOYMENT

Physician Hurdles before hiring a PA	PA Hurdles before practicing in Appalachia
Lack of knowledge about PAs **Strategy: physician orientations**	Lack of knowledge about Appalachia **Strategy: Appalachian Studies Seminars**
Lack of personal experience with PAs **Strategy: physician/preceptor experience with PA**	Lack of personal experience with Appalachia **Strategy: PA Clinical Rotation in HMS area**
Concerns, philosophical, psychological, and economic **Strategy: workshops and promotional materials**	Concerns, philosophical, psychological, and economic **Strategy: Interdisciplinary experience, both didactic and experiential, in HMS areas**

students' learning, experiences, motivations, and intentions to practice in Appalachia. The component aimed at increasing opportunities for employment is two-pronged: (1) design and administer a direct-response survey aimed at gathering information from a representative quota sample of employing and non-employing physicians in Appalachian Kentucky counties in order to explore their attitudes, reasons, and intentions regarding the utilization of PAs; and (2) develop intervention strategies, based on the physician surveys and post-tests of students, for improving opportunities for PA employment in Appalachian Kentucky.

Whereas Cherkin's conclusion appears rather bleak regarding increasing utilization of mid-level providers, the TAP Project attempts to broaden the parameters which currently define the "PA deployment" issue. Under TAP's broader definition, the intervention strategies would include diverse activities like cross-cultural competency training,

APPALACHIAN STUDIES SEMINARS

Seminar I: APPALACHIAN CULTURE AND HEALTH CARE PROVIDERS

At the conclusion of the first seminar, the students should have an increased awareness of the general cultural characteristics of Appalachia. The students should be able to discuss the interrelationship between Appalachian and mainstream American values and behaviors, especially as they relate to health care.

Seminar II: APPALACHIAN CULTURE: GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the end of Seminar II, the students should have a basic understanding of the geographic, historical, and socio-economic characteristics of Appalachia. In addition, students should be aware of major historical trends that have affected the development of the region, especially Appalachian Kentucky.

Seminar III: AN OVERVIEW OF APPALACHIAN KENTUCKY'S HEALTH CARE

At the conclusion of Seminar III, the students should be able to describe and discuss recent developments and contemporary characteristics of health care delivery in Appalachian Kentucky.

decentralized clinical education, physician orientation to mid-level practitioners, developing improved models for student recruitment, and developing regional employment networks as well as improved models for community oriented health care. We want to respond to regional (Appalachian) and national efforts to prepare well-qualified primary care, mid-level providers who will seek, secure, and retain employment in medically underserved areas.

During 1986-87, the project was able to conduct a survey which included 60 face-to-face extensive interviews with physicians. In addition, we presented six hours of excellent panel discussions from experts on Appalachian culture and health-related issues. It is our sincere hope that one or more of these activities will become the seeds for a practical solution to the health manpower shortage crisis in the Appalachian region.

Notes

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3. "MDs at Odds With NHSC Over Obligations," American Medical News, September 18, 1987, American Medical Association, pp. 2, 32, 34, 35.

4. The Status of Health Care in Appalachian Kentucky, Data Bank Report #4, July

5. "Physician Utilization of Allied Health Professionals," Socioeconomic Monitoring System Report, vol. 1, No. 10, December 1982, American Medical Association Center for Health Policy Research.

6. U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Nurse Practitioners, Physician Assistant, and Certified Nurse-Midwives: A Policy Analysis," (Health Technology Case Study 37), OTA-HCS-37, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1986), pp. 5-6.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 32.

9. "Factors Influencing the Physician Market for Primary Care New Health Practitioners," Cherkin, Daniel C., Medical Care, November 1980, Vol. 18, No. 11, p. 1099.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 1104.◆

TRAINING PRACTITIONERS FOR APPROPRIATE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN APPALACHIAN COMMUNITIES: A VIEW FROM THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

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There has been much debate over the successes and failures of various Appalachian development programs. While it is true that the region has progressed, there are still many problems that must be dealt with. Many Appalachian communities lack adequate education, decent health care, a reasonable housing stock and a stable economic base. Human services programs remain underdeveloped in many areas. There is clearly much left to do.

At the same time, much of the successes of development activities have come at considerable human cost. Environmental destruction remains a side effect of industrial progress (Caudill, 1971). Whisnant (1980) calls attention to programs that he calls "culturally destructive." The loss of land, autonomy, and power are all, in part, consequences of development efforts.

These failures can be seen as consequences of the intervention technologies used in Appalachian development efforts. While development practitioners come from many fields, they employ similar intervention technologies. These intervention systems are said to be value-free, while in fact, they rest on development theory that employs values that are, in many important ways, inappropriate for planning with Appalachian communities. The result is programs that do not meet the needs of the region's people and that can have serious side effects. In order to break this cycle we must reorient professional practice. The most efficient way to accomplish this is to change professional education to teach intervention methods that are more appropriate for work with Appalachian communities.

Social work is one of the professions that prepare planners and community organizers to work with Appalachian communities. In many cases, mainstream social work education subscribes to a traditional development approach. This approach is often less than successful in dealing with the problems of mountain communities and hinders practitioners in their efforts to design interventions that might be more appropriate. It is also inconsistent with many of the values that social workers hold. In order to maximize the positive effects of social work planners and organizers, social work education must change the way it prepares people to work with Appalachian communities.

This paper will discuss ways of making social work education more appropriate for the preparation of development practitioners to work with the people and communities of the region. The dominant model of development and training for development will be presented and critically examined. The role of social work and social work education within this theory will be discussed. Next, a possibly more appropriate development strategy will be offered, and implications for social work and social work education will be identified. The final section will present a design for preparing social work practitioners to use the alternative model and design interventions in a culturally sensitive manner.

The Dominant Theory of Appalachian Development

Many Appalachian development programs rely on variants of modernization theory for their theoretical and intellectual underpinnings. The so-called Modernization approach was developed in the 1950s and early, 1960s to guide work with the third world through foreign assistance programs (Higgins and Higgins, 1979).

This is an approach to development that was largely evolved by economists. Economic growth is the center of the process of development (Todero, 1985). The social, cultural, and political implications of the theory support the encouragement of economic growth. Some social institutions are seen as growth enhancing while others are seen as growth retarding. The latter are promoted and the former are destroyed (Galbraith, 1964). Development strategies have a strong urban bias and rural areas are seen as backward. Part of the intervention process is promoting rural to urban migration. This can be seen quite vividly in the works of Arthur Lewis (1955) which stress the movement of the labor force from rural to urban areas. The ARC's "Growth Center" strategy may be said to have a similar intent. The aim of the growth center model, and the central place theory that supports it, is to move population and resources toward a "growth center" and away from a rural hinterland (Walls and Billings, 1977).

Modernization theory sees society as progressing through a series of steps or stages from a backward state to an industrial state (Rostow, 1960; Higgins and Higgins, 1979). All societies go through the same general phases and any problems are considered to be within the underdeveloped area.

Development is seen to be a value-free technical process that is guided by professional practitioners. The industrial civilization of the western world is thought to be unquestionably the best and ultimate development goal. These practitioners see such a goal as the proper outcome of the techniques that they employ. The idea that such assumptions are value judgments is not seriously considered. The failure to consider that value issue has lead to sharp criticism by both third world leaders and western development theorists (Myrdal, 1968).

Poverty and other social problems are seen as the result of underdevelopment. Modernization approaches see economic growth as the cure for poverty using the "trickle-down" model of conservative economics. Social spending is seen as consumption that retards the growth process.

Present-day social work in Appalachia reflects the assumptions of the dominant theory. Social work, within this context has a narrow residual or remedial orientation. Social programs are designed to support economic growth and provide for the few that cannot take advantage of the economy. Social work planners and community organizers are concerned with sectorial issues, such as placement of agencies and institutions and the development of remedial social casework programs. This is a direct services support model and does little to attack the base causes of social problems.

The acceptance of modernization theory puts social work planners and organizers in a role that supports the economic system, especially with regards to economic growth. The flow between social welfare and the economic system is almost entirely one way. Social work attempts help create infrastructure that supports the economy. There is no attempt, however, to change the economy to facilitate social welfare concerns.

Modernization leads to a tendency toward rejecting the uniqueness of the Appalachian subculture. Social program designs are considered to be "culture free," so there is no need to design programs that are more appropriate to Appalachia. The eventual outcome of this worldview is that much of the social infrastructure that is developed will not be relevant to a significant portion of the people that social work planners are trying to help.

Social work education reinforces this situation by training social workers to practice within narrow sectorial bounds. It also teaches a "generic" system of practice that is thought to be value free and applicable across the board, in all situations.

This is clearly not a very acceptable role for those who are concerned about human welfare. It limits the social work development practitioner to a remedial role that deals with cleaning up the casualties of economic activity. What is needed is a broader, more comprehensive role within a more appropriate development model.

An Alternative Model of Appalachian Development

Appalachia needs to look at development in a way that will focus on the potential of the people rather than the growth of the economy. In an earlier paper, I presented some ideas about what that approach to development might look like (McNutt, 1987). This approach blends concepts from Sustainable Societies Approaches (Brown, 1981; Stokes, 1981), Basic Needs Development Strategies (Streeten, 1981), and the "Another Development" emphasis (Hettne, 1983) and adapts these strategies to Appalachia. It also uses material from more traditional development sources, such as Myrdal's (1968 and 1974) institutional economic development theory and Lutz and Lux's Humanistic Economics (1979). While the reader is referred to the original paper for a fuller treatment of the model, it will be summarized here.

The major components of this strategy are as follows: (1) a reorientation of development goals away from economic growth and toward social objectives such as quality of life and societal development, (2) a change in the measurement of growth to reflect the new goals, (3) a "bottom up" community-level planning strategy, (4) a policy framework to support the planning strategy at higher levels of analysis,(5) a structure for providing technical assistance and (6) a structure for ensuring the fulfillment of basic needs (McNutt, 1987).

This represents a reorientation from the traditional model of Appalachian development. No longer is economic growth the primary goal of the development process. Human development is more important than economic development. This change in goals will be reflected in a change in measurement. The use of economic indicators will no longer be adequate to address development. Social indicators must supplement the use of economic measures in assessing development outcomes (Seers, 1972).

An overall policy framework for the region is also proposed. This framework deals with overall issues such as ecological and resource management concerns, and supports the community-level activities. Key policies within this framework also insure technical assistance to local communities and provide basic needs fulfillment mechanisms. Stokes (1981) makes a compelling argument for this type of approach in sustainable development. This strategy also employs participatory planning for small-scale community-level development programming. This type of programming is geared toward "self-help" social and economic development programs that foster self reliant communities. This has become especially important in light of the problems of capital flight (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982).

The overall model reflects contemporary development thinking (outside of Appalachia), and the strategies have proved somewhat successful in the third world. Also, from a moral or ethical viewpoint, much could be said for a model of development that puts human needs above economic growth (Goulet, 1971).

The role of social work and social welfare was not well developed within the original formulation. A social welfare system that would work within this framework would be significantly different from what is presently operating in Appalachia.

The most important change would be a new perception of what the social welfare system can legitimately call its domain. The limited, residual view of the responsibilities of the social welfare system must be expanded.

Social welfare should be concerned with the quality of life and the creation of a just, fair and productive society. The social welfare system that exists in Appalachia is concerned with picking up the pieces of industrial society. Social welfare must concentrate on all of those areas that influence human welfare. This means an anticipatory stance and one that stresses prevention instead of simply cure. The social welfare system must be involved in the education system, the economic system, the political system and any other arena where the lives of people can be improved.

Social welfare services should be centered at the community level and community participation in the design, administration and evaluation of programs should be stressed. This should lead to programs that are more responsive to the community and its members. If at all possible, financing should also be accomplished, at least in part, at the local level. Control of the funds would strengthen the program's accountability to the community and promote a sense of community ownership.

Income maintenance is a potential exception to this principle. Few Appalachian communities have the tax base to support major income maintenance programs. This is especially true in light of the high dependency ratio in many Appalachian communities and the attended high costs of providing income support for the elderly. Income maintenance should be funded through a central regional structure aimed at meeting basic needs. This structure should be part of the overall policy framework.

Appropriate social services technology is another area that should be built into the region's social welfare system. In many cases, highly technological urban-designed social service delivery systems are employed in rural Appalachian communities with less than desirable consequences. Social services are needed that perform in a manner appropriate for the community. Appropriate social services technologies will operate in a manner that maximizes human welfare and is appropriate to the scale that community life in Appalachia presents. These technologies will rely on the talents and abilities of the mountain people and will rely only minimally on professionally trained staff.

Self-help programs should be stressed (Stokes, 1981). Programs that allow people to help themselves aid in removing the stigma of welfare dependency and create new confidence and community solidarity. Self-help groups, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, Parents without Partners, TOPS, etc, not only provide useful instrumental services, they can also engage in social action. Bender (1986) finds self-help groups useful in meeting the goals of social development. Community based self-help organizations can provide their members with resources that the present social welfare system could not even pretend to provide.

Small, community oriented programs like health clinics, drop-in counseling centers, family day care networks and natural support networks are good possibilities for Appalachian communities. These programs should use prevention-oriented modalities keyed to the particular community. While many of these programs do exist in the mountains, there is a clear need to extend their availability to a broader range of the region's population.

There are many models that are used in third world nations that may be applicable to Appalachia. The Philippines, for example, has a program that sets up poor families in their own businesses and provides technical support for their efforts (Reidy, 1981). While it is not at all clear how such a program might be implemented in the United States, the general approach could ease the problem of welfare stigma that plagues many of the region's poor. It could also provide a level of support that is not usually found in the public assistance programs in Appalachia.

Cooperative programs could also be useful in developing self-sufficiency for the region's poor. Cooperatives have a long history in Appalachia (Whisnant, 1980), but the results have been decidedly mixed. Appalachian cooperatives might stand a better chance if supported by a policy framework.

Appropriate social services technology will, of course, depend on the nature of the community of interest. Technologies that are appropriate for some communities will not work for others. No social welfare system will be appropriate for Appalachian communities unless it is designed with an understanding of the culture and heritage of the region. The region has a unique history and has many values and beliefs that differ from other groups in American society. The social welfare system in Appalachia must be based on an understanding of the region.

Even in today's social welfare system, there is no excuse for a social worker to possess little or no background on the culture and history of the people that he or she works with. That would seem to be a basic prerequisite of doing effective work. When one considers the intimate nature of worker-community interaction that this model requires, the need becomes all the more significant. Social workers who work in Appalachia clearly need to understand Appalachia.

These changes in the social welfare system in Appalachia will require that social workers adopt a different perspective on their practice. There will have to be a shift in orientation away from remedial/acute care practice models and toward preventive/developmental practice models. Social workers, in general, will have to become more skilled at working with the community.

Planners and community organizers will have to develop skills in setting up new types of community programs, building participation and designing systems that "work" with the Appalachian cultural system. While many social workers possess at least some of these abilities, additional skills may be needed. It is important to train a social work practitioner who can be effective in the Appalachian community. Social work planners will also have to decide which technological skills are useful and which are not. This decision may not be an easy one, given the time and expense required to develop some of these skills. Some professional skills, however, exclude the community rather than encouraging its participation. In addition, some techniques have a clearly elitist character about them that does not contribute to the kinds of effects that are desired.

Social work education must respond to training practitioners to encourage a more appropriate development for Appalachia and it's social welfare system. The balance of this paper will suggest what social work education could do to produce practitioners for appropriate Appalachian development.

Social Work Education for Appalachian Development

The present model of training social workers for planning and development roles in Appalachia is wedded to the traditional model of Appalachian development. A new social work supporting a new development model will require a new type of social work education. What that education might look like is presented in what is to follow.

A revised model of social work education will differ from traditional programs in terms of four basic dimensions. The first dimension is a change in perspective. Social work planners and community workers must use a broad perspective on the boundaries of social intervention. A sectorial perspective will not be as useful and will recreate problems of the past.

The second dimension involves developing an effective understanding of the region and its people. Appalachia is not the same as many other areas and should not be treated as such. Future planners and community workers will need a clear understanding of this for effective practice.

Third, new practice skills form the final dimension. Planners and community workers will need new skills in encouraging participation, developing programs, supporting self-help efforts and working with the economic and political systems, as well as a host of related skills.

The final dimension is field education. This will involve taking the skills, perspective and, understanding of the region and applying them in actual field settings. These four dimensions form the core of a new social work education for Appalachia.

A Change in Perspective

Most schools of social work present a view of social policy and the role of social workers that is slightly larger than the residual approach that is generally applied in American social welfare policy (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965). This approach is called the institutional approach and sees social welfare as an important institution that is engaged in functions that benefit everyone. While some appreciation is given to forces outside the social welfare system, the analysis is usually presented as sector specific.

A broader, and, perhaps more appropriate view is the social development perspective. This approach is defined by Hollister (1982: 32) as "planned institutional change to bring about a better fit between human needs and social policies and programs." This approach sees social work as improving the quality of human existence at a variety of levels and with a variety of skills and techniques. Social Development tries to bring about "qualitative growth" in a society or region (Pavia, 1982). Because of the emphasis on development as opposed to growth and on a broad rather than narrow scale of analysis, social development would seem to be an appropriate model to adopt for social work education in Appalachia.

Social development will lead to an international perspective on Appalachia's problems. Falk (1981) notes that an international view is a key component of the social development approach. A global view is essential when dealing with Appalachia's problems as a region. A number of Appalachian development theorists have identified the links between the problems of the region and the nature of the world economy (Walls and Billings, 1977; Lewis and Horton, 1980). Even more mainstream theorists would have difficulty completely discounting the effects of the world economy on Appalachian economic growth. Planners must clearly understand the nature of the international forces that form part of the context for their practice, and a social development approach will give them the intellectual tools to integrate this information.

In sum, a social development approach to social work education, with its concern for qualitative growth, human needs, and a broad global perspective on social issues, seems most appropriate for Appalachia. While this perspective is helpful, it is not completely adequate for the preparation of practitioners for Appalachia. They will also need an understanding of the nature of the mountain region and the people.

Toward An Understanding of Appalachia

Social work education is built on a foundation of knowledge about human behavior. This foundation includes content from a wide range of disciplines drawn together in an attempt to deal with the human condition in some type of holistic manner. While some of this content is useful to anyone who plans for people, there is also a need for specific information about Appalachia.

An essential starting point is the historical development of the region. Most critical is the effects of previous social change on the region (see Eller, 1982; Whisnant, 1980; Lewis, Kobak and Johnson, 1978). Planners need to understand the route by which the region reached its present state in order to recommend the interventions that will be most beneficial in the future.

Following an overview of the historical development of the region, content on the region's cultural, economic, social and political systems is in order. It is probably useful to begin at the abstract regional level and discuss the forces both by themselves and in relation to national and international institutions and forces.

Marcia Barron and I (McNutt and Barron, 1984) argued that the forces that engage the region converge at the level of the local community. Since much practitioner activity will concentrate at this level, it is essential that practitioners understand this vital unit. This should include discussion of Appalachian community theory and analysis of case studies, such as those by Hicks (1976) and Stephenson (1969) and Gaventa (1980).

One topic that seems crucial is the nature of power in the region and its communities. Appalachia is a region where power is unequally divided. If workers are to function effectively in community and planning roles, they must be able to use the system of power that exists. Another consideration should be familiarity with many of the current Appalachian issues such as land ownership, the farm crisis and energy development. Planners and organizers need to understand all sides of these critical issues.

It is clear, then, that planners and organizers must have a sensitivity to Appalachia in order to work effectively. In addition, they need practice skills that are in keeping with the revised model.

Practice Skills and Practice Theories

Traditional social work education can provide many skills that are useful in the present context. Community organization/ social planning students are taught theories of practice that stress participation (Ross, 1955; Burke, 1979), empowerment (Grosser, 1965; Rubin and Rubin, 1986; Burghart, 1982) and the importance of self-help. Many of the skills that are taught in traditional practice courses, such as community analysis, grassroots fundraising, committee management, door-to-door organizing, etc. are also useful within this context. Some additional training is needed, however.

While some of the more traditional theories may work in the present context, there are newer models that seem more appropriate. Korten (1980) proposes a model of community practice that is built on social learning theory. This model stresses planning with the people and the inclusion of knowledge acquisition processes through the involvement of social scientists. While the model was developed for use in the third world, it seems particularly well adapted to the present situation. Gran (1983) proposes a similar theory based on somewhat different assumptions.

Traditional practice skills must be augmented by newer skills for a enhanced practice base. Future practitioners will need broader skills in working with the economic system. These might include traditional economic development skills such as Benefit-Cost Analysis, economic base analysis, and the use of regional economic planning tools. They must understand what is involved in financing new community ventures and what types of considerations will influence their feasibility. This type of content is rarely taught within social work programs.

Skills in dealing with the political system are also important. These might include political analysis, lobbying, coalition formulation, etc. for a broad range of issues (Haynes and Mickelson, 1986) While some social workers do receive some content on political skills, the emphasis is largely sectorial in approach.

Practitioners will also need enhanced skills in terms of evaluating the consequences of development. Social impact analysis is important in evaluating the outcomes of development on human institutions. Some training in social impact analysis should be provided for practitioners within their research and planning courses. Participatory research is also important and provides an effective means of linking knowledge building with action.

These skills, coupled with the traditional skills that are already taught, can provide the Appalachian development practitioner with the background to practice effectively in the alternative development model. While most of the content can be taught within existing courses, it would probably be beneficial to have separate course work on the region and its development. A policy course dealing with the interaction between social welfare policies and Appalachian development policies could prove useful. Practice courses could be augmented with additional content. These skills courses provide training that can be directly applied through field education.

Field Education

Social work education includes a considerable field education component. This allows students to practice the skills that they have learned in the classroom. Faculty will have to make diligent efforts to identify field agencies that are involved in the appropriate forms of practice. Considerable care must be taken to insure that the agencies selected share the value and skill orientations that are being promoted. Since accreditation requirements specify a field supervisor with an MSW, and many alternative programs do not employ one, it may be necessary for the school to make up part of the supervision.

This proposed design would allow social work education to prepare development practitioners who could respond effectively to the problems of Appalachia. It represents generally minor divisions from the existing structure of social work education and could, therefore, be quite easily implemented.

Conclusions

The social work profession has had a longstanding concern for the problems of the poor, the oppressed and the disenfranchised. The profession has been involved with the problems of Appalachia for a long time, and many practitioners have been successful in improving the lives of individuals and communities throughout the region. The Appalachian region continues to suffer from many of its traditional problems and a number of new problems, such as capital flight. New efforts must be made to develop the region in a manner that will provide every man, woman, and child with a decent standard of living and the opportunity to realize his or her potential. If social work is to contribute to this effort, it must change some of the assumptions that it makes about development theory and development practice.

Social Workers have been trained to plan and organize within the context of a development theory that create barriers to a bright and fulfilling future for Appalachia and her people. This theory discourages the adequate funding of social programs and robs social workers of the opportunity to improve the lives of their clients in a significant manner. Applied to Appalachian development, the theory has created a programs that can have unfortunate side effects. Movement to a new approach to development could open the doors for both a more appropriate development and a more effective social work.

Bringing this new theory in is partially a task for social work education. By building a social work education that prepares practitioners to function within a new developmental framework, social work could make a major contribution to the future of Appalachia.

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RURAL ADULT EDUCATION IN APPALACHIA
A STUDY OF DESIRABLE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS

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Introduction

What teaching styles and teacher characteristics enhance the learning process in rural adult education? How do rural adults perceive the different styles and characteristics given the particular community, groups, and individuals involved? What is the impact of the individual teacher on the political and social agendas of the rural adult learner with regard to community development and democratization? Does experience in the rural adult setting affect the teacher's own thinking along these lines? Although little research has been done in this area, such questions are very relevant to colleges as they begin to address the higher education needs of rural adults, and to the rural adults as they form educational cooperatives to establish college programs in their geographic area.

This study focuses on the Rural Communities Educational Cooperative (RCEC) located in Jellico, Tennessee. RCEC, in cooperation with Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tennessee offer several four-year college programs for adult learners. (For a more detailed description of the RCEC program see Osborne, Carter, and Butler, 1987.) Using RCEC as a case in point, the present study is an attempt to bring a better understanding of what constitutes effective and appropriate teaching within the rural adult setting.

Background

Teacher effectiveness has been studied since virtually the beginning of formal education. Some of the more frequent findings point toward appropriate and accurate empathy, knowledge of the subject matter, enthusiasm with which the material is presented, organization of lectures, and a proper balance of criticism and encouragement (McKeachie, 1986; Glover, 1983; Cross, 1986; Eble, 1976). Although these items seem to be fairly universally agreed upon as important for the traditional student, the question remains as to the effects of such styles and characteristics within the rural setting. Given the assumed uniqueness of the rural adult learner, it is reasonable to propose that this growing segment of the college population perceives the classroom process differently from the traditional student. If so, such items of concern as motivation level, class participation, likelihood to complete an academic program, and student efforts to be present and on time for class would seem to be potentially affected according to the particular teacher involved. Thus, the college could help by staffing its courses with teachers whose style and characteristics maximize those student behaviors necessary for academic success.

From the student's perspective, the rural adult learner is of course concerned with academic success but may also be concerned about the social and political implications of teacher selection. Groups such as RCEC, for example, were started in order to achieve not only educational goals but also goals in the area of community development and democratization through economic progress for poor people (Osborne, Carter, & Butler, 1987). Thus, selecting teachers who reflect in their style and characteristics an educational

TABLE 1: **TWO MODELS OF RURAL ADULT EDUCATION**

(Adapted from P. Jarvis, The Sociology of Adult & Continuing Education, 1985)

Education from Above	Education of Equals
Primary focus on needs of society & standards.	Primary focus on student self-actualization needs and learning.
Student molded to fit system in an individualistic manner.	Student empowered to change system and to engage in collective action.
Specific behavioral objectives set by teacher with no student in-put.	General expressive objectives set through negotiation between teacher & student.
Content reflects implicit knowledge, skills, & values of dominant culture.	Critical consciousness of cultural nature of knowledge, skills, & values fostered.
Content chosen by a recognized agent of society to initiate students into "real world" with clearly defined right & wrong answers.	Content evolves from many sources including student life experience, as a result of open-ended discovery or problem-solving processes.
Clear role & status differences between teacher & students.	Social equality between teacher and student.
Information flow is one-way from teacher to student in lecture or question/answer/correction format.	Teacher & student learn in dialogic fashion with teacher serving as facilitator.
Assessment characterized by external standards, teacher-composed test, & competitive examinations.	Assessment characterized by individualized goals, self-assessment, & practical application of knowledge.
A certain amount of student failure considered normal, seen as justifying differential rewards of system.	Everyone can improve & show progress toward goals, failure is a societal device to perpetuate status quo.

philosophy consistent with these additional goals would seem as important as the concern for academic success.

Research Methods

A research design involving three steps was employed to examine several dimensions of the RCEC/Carson-Newman College program. All data were collected in the fall of 1987. First, intensive interviews were conducted with the RCEC leadership about the philosophy and goals of the program as well as their ideas about teachers, teacher selection and training, and other issues mentioned by RCEC leaders and members (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). Using this data, a second stage of research was enacted through the construction of a multi-dimensional questionnaire designed for the adult learners of the RCEC program. Thirty-four adult students completed a self-administered instrument. This

TABLE 2: **SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RCEC ADULT LEARNER'S SAMPLE** (N=34)

Characteristic	**Descriptive Data**		(Parentheses contain actual frequencies.)
Age	$\bar{x}$ = 33.7 years S.D = 7.54 years Missing data = 5.8% (2)		
Sex	Male = 2.9% (1) Female = 97% (33)		
Income	weight: 5 ___ $40,000		(0)
	4 $30-$39,999	8.8%	(3)
	3 $20-$29,999	2.9%	(1)
	2 $10-$19,999	35.3%	(12)
	1 ___ $ 9,999	47 %	(16)
	$\bar{x}$ = 1.71 S.D.= .92 Missing data = 5.8% (2)		
Academic Major	Business	32. %	(11)
	Nursing	20.6%	(7)
	Human Services	26.4%	(9)
	Education	8.8%	(3)
	Sociology	2.9%	(1)
	Undecided	5.8%	(2)
	Missing data	2.9%	(1)
College Courses Completed	$\bar{x}$ = 14 S.D.= 12.1 Missing data = 5.8% (2)		
Grade Point Average	$\bar{x}$ = 3.34 S.D.= .51 Missing data = 47% (16)		
Number of Semesters With RCEC	$\bar{x}$ = 4.76 S.D.= 3.71		
Service in a Leadership Role for RCEC	weight: 2 yes	26.4%	(9)
	1 no	70.6%	(24)
	Missing data	2.9%	(1)
	$\bar{x}$ = 1.27 S.D.= .45		

represented approximately 61% of the total number of students enrolled in classes at that time. The questionnaire was administered at class registration. And lastly, intensive interviews were conducted with four college teachers whom student identified on the questionnaire as "liking the most."

Findings

Interviews with RCEC leaders

The interviews with the program leaders of RCEC tended to reflect what Peter Jarvis (1985) refers to as an "Education of Equals" model of adult education. Table 1 above compares the more traditional didactic teaching or "Education from Above" model with this more egalitarian approach. RCEC leaders indicated a strong preference for teachers who integrate the student's life experience with the learning process, who set standards in line with the competencies actually needed to succeed, given the realities that exist in the local community, and who served as a model in terms of democratic ideals and concern for social justice. Such teachers were described as most consistent with the goals and philosophy of RCEC, which emphasize the potential of higher education to help solve local problems not only for individuals seeking to better themselves but also for groups such as RCEC seeking to empower poor people and contribute to overall community development.

Survey Analysis of Adult Learners

Table 2 on the previous page contains the socio-demographic characteristics of the students enrolled in the RCEC program. They are female, middle-aged, low income people who have completed several college courses with relatively good grade point averages. Over 30% of our sample were enrolled as business majors with nursing, human services, and education rounding out the majority of students. When asked if they has served in a leadership role for RCEC, about one in four had done so, while the rest were just taking classes and did not consider themselves as present or previous leaders in the program.

Table 3 on the next page examines the degree to which the adult learners in the RCEC program feel (1) they are confident of earning a college degree, (2) whether they like learning, and (3) if they like what RCEC stands for and what the program is trying to do in the Jellico community. On all three, the respondents were quite positive in their responses.

Inter-item correlations (r) were calculated in addition to the descriptive statistics. Interestingly, no relationship was found between (1) confidence in earning a degree and both (2) liking learning and (3) liking the RCEC program. The only significant relationship was between (2) like learning and (3) like the RCEC program. In other words, students enrolled in the RCEC/Carson-Newman College program enjoy learning and attending classes much more since it is coordinated and operated through a community-based educational cooperative. This finding suggests that most students are not so much interested in the instrumental aspects of obtaining a degree for purposes of social mobility as they are interested in the RCEC program and its purpose to utilize education as a tool for community empowerment. This finding supports the previous study of RCEC students reported in Osborne, Carter, and Butler (1987).

Table 4 contains eight pairs of dichotomous responses of which one was to be chosen after reading the statement: "I do best when I have a teacher who..." Each of the eight dichotomous responses (A-H) was set up to reflect either (1) the Education from Above model or (2) the Education of Equals model. They were constructed on the basis of the work of Helen Lewis, who is developing a model course in community development for rural adults (Lewis, 1987).

The statements are arranged in rank order, with the highest rank being the closest to the Education of Equals approach and in descending order

TABLE 3: **DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS AND CORRELATIONS AMONG ATTITUDES TOWARD COLLEGE WORK AND RCEC (N=34)**

Statement	Weight Value	4	3	2	1
		Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Somewhat Unconfident	Very Unconfident
How confident are you at completing a college degree?		70.6% (24)	23.5% (8)	(0)	5.8% (2)
			$\bar{x}$ = 3.58 S.D.= .78		
		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree Somewhat	Strongly Disagree
I like learning and attending classes.		82.3% (28)	14.7% (5)	(0)	(0)
			$\bar{x}$ = 3.84 S.D.= .36		
		Missing data	= (1)		
		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disgree Somewhat	Strongly Disagree
I like what RCEC stands for and what they are trying to do in the community.		76.5% (26)	20.5% (7)	2.9% (1)	(0)
			$\bar{x}$ = 3.73 S.D = .511		

	Confident/Degree	Like learning/Attend	Like RCEC
Confident/Degree	1.00		
Like learning/Attend	.095	1.00	
Like RCEC	.174	.438*	1.00

* Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 4: RANK-ORDER AND CORRELATES OF TEACHING-STYLE: EDUCATION FROM ABOVE VERSUS EDUCATION OF EQUALS (N=34)

Weight Value	Statement	Rank-Order by Mean Value
	I do best when I have a teacher who...	
A.* 1)	keeps the course focused on the textbook and what the professsionals say.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.7 S.D.= .46
2)	relates the course to local experiences and historical and global processes.	
B.* 1)	teaches the class exactly as it is taught on the main campus.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.69 S.D. = .47
2)	adapts the course to our local community.	
C.* 1)	does most of the talking.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.53
2)	has the class to do most of the talking.	S.D. = .49
D.* 1)	keeps the course on the academic or discussion level.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.50 S.D. = .51
2)	moves people toward some type of collective or personal action.	
E.* 1)	shows me how to compete and get ahead as an individual.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.4 S.D. = .50
2)	shows people how to organize themselves.	
F. 1)	tells the class exactly what to do.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.36
2)	has the class decide what to do.	S.D. = .49
G. 1)	takes responsibility for presenting most of the knowledge.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.32 S.D. = .48
2)	draws out most of the knowledge from the students	
H. 1)	continuosly presents new knowledge throughout the semester.	$\bar{x}$ = 1.3 S.D. = .47
2)	causes the class to reflect on what is learned.	

* Items A-E had an $\bar{r}$ = .364. A Standard Item Alpha Reliability Coefficient was calculated = .741, which indicates moderate scale potential (Education of Equals Scale).

Items F-H had low inter-item correlations; hence, they appear to be measuring somewhat different attributes.

Correlates to the Education of Equals Scale were: (1) Tactful Teacher = .45, (2) Like RCEC = .414, (3) Income = -.34. All are significant at the .05 level.

approaching the Education from Above philosophy. The results reveal the RCEC students prefer teachers who (1) relate local experiences to historical and global processes as opposed to just focusing on the textbook and what professionals say; (2) adapt the course to the local community as opposed to teaching a course exactly as it is taught on the main campus; (3) allow the class to discuss openly, as opposed to always lecturing; and (4) move people to collective or personal action, as opposed to only discussing the course on an academic level (see Table 4 on the previous page for the remaining rank-order responses).

Inter-item correlations were also run on each of the eight items. Items A-E were found to be moderately correlated one to another with an r = .364. A Standard Item Alpha Reliability Coefficient was calculated to determine if a common attribute was being tapped. The Alpha was .741, which indicates moderate scale potential. Treating items A-E as a scale, the "Education of Equals Scale," we found several significant correlations with other variables. The Education of Equals Scale was significantly correlated (.05 level) with student preferences for teachers who were tactful (r =.45), student support of RCEC and what it stands for (r =.414), and with student income (r = -.34). The poorer students thus prefer the Education of Equals philosophy, whereas the higher income students prefer the Education from Above approach. This finding is interesting, because much of the literature on life and culture of Appalachia (see critiques by Couto, 1984; Fisher, 1977; Jones, 1976; Walls, 1977; Whisnant, 1981; Photiadis, 1986; Weller, 1970, 1978, 1984) has tended to stereotype poor Appalachians as unable to understand and participate effectively in collective action for community good or for the support of education. Our findings suggest just the opposite in the case of RCEC adult learners, where collective action for community good and for support of education is initiated by the people themselves rather than by some outside agency. Appalachians demonstrate a very fine capacity for such action, thus contradicting the stereotype of mountain people as hopelessly individualistic.

Table 5 on the next page lists by rank-order fourteen preferred teacher characteristics. These were chosen from a list of adjectives used by Bem (1975). Students were asked to score them on a scale of one to seven with "never true" scored as one, and "always true" scored as seven. The three most highly preferred characteristics were (1) self-reliant, (2) reliable, and (3) truthful.

Table 6 examines income correlates. Correlations were rank-ordered from highest to lowest. Interestingly, all income correlates were negative. As student income went down, they showed a greater preference for teachers who were (1) helpful, (2) happy, (3) reliable, and (4) female. They also showed an increased liking for (5) the RCEC program and goals, (6) enjoyment of learning and (7) preference for a class which openly discusses material. Rounding out the list, the poorer the students, the more they prefer teachers who are (8) warm, (9) sensitive, (10) friendly, and (11) gentle and those who (12) draw upon the knowledge and life experience of adult learners. All twelve income correlates are significant at the .05 level.

Interviews with Four Favorite Teachers

Given the above income correlations, we were not surprised to discover that two of the teachers RCEC students ranked as their favorite on the questionnaire expressed views primarily derived from the Education of Equals model, whereas the other two expressed views more from the Education from Above approach. Our interviews revealed interesting similarities and differences among these faculty.

In terms of similarities, all expressed affection and admiration for the students and appreciation for the self-help orientation of RCEC. All were primarily using traditional teaching methods such as lectures, tests, assigned papers, and structured class exercises. All expressed interest in learning to do these tasks

TABLE 5: **RANK-ORDER OF PREFERRED TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS FROM ADULT LEARNERS**

(N=34)

Weight Value Range: 1-7; 1 = Never/Almost Never True; 7 = Almost Always True

	Teacher Characteristics	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	Missing Data
1.	Self-reliant	6.73	.52	4
2.	Reliable	6.72	1.08	2
3.	Truthful	6.53	.761	2
4.	Happy	6.41	.98	2
5.	Acts as Leader	6.39	.99	3
6.	Helpful	6.38	1.34	2
7.	Conscientious	6.37	1.19	4
8.	Warm	6.35	1.02	3
9.	Sincere	6.26	1.26	3
9.	Understanding	6.26	1.44	3
9.	Friendly	6.26	1.57	3
10.	Gentle	6.19	1.27	7
10.	Sensitive to the needs of others	6.19	1.64	2
11.	Tactful	5.84	1.63	3
12.	Assertive	5.73	1.15	4
13.	Does not use harsh language	3.93	2.68	4
14.	Unpredictable	2.39	1.71	3

better in the context of the RCEC program. And all reported having made some adaptations of their course to the locale and the particular needs of the students.

The main difference was the kind of course adaptation that was made. One teacher with the Education from Above approach reported with a sense of regret that he had "watered down" the standards and requirements of his most recent course, because he felt many of the students were simply academically unprepared for anything else. The other teacher had begun to utilize the community as a laboratory for student projects. Most of the projects, however, tended to attribute local problems to misdeeds of poor people, rather than to the system of absentee ownership characteristic of much of Appalachia or to the unwillingness of various private and public funding agencies to support commercial ventures initiated by grass-roots groups such as RCEC. For example, a project might focus on "welfare cheating" in the community, rather than on the low taxes paid by the county's richest industry, which might be a coal company headquartered in Pennsylvania. While these two teachers were quite popular with many students, it could be argued that the kind of course adaptations they made were inconsistent with the learner-based and community-empowerment orientation of RCEC.

The course adaptations made by the two teachers with more of an Education of Equals philosophy were related to their conscious recognition of the unique and

TABLE 6: **RANK-ORDER OF INCOME CORRELATES FOR RCEC ADULT LEARNERS** (N=34)

	Teacher Characteristics	Income
1)	Helpful teacher	-.544
2)	Happy teacher	-.491
3)	Reliable teacher	-.475
4)	Female Teacher	-.451
5)	Like RCEC	-.425
6)	Like learning/classes	-.411
7)	Has the class do most of the talking	-.399
8)	Warm teacher	-.373
9)	Sensitive teacher to others	-.363
10)	Friendly teacher	-.359
11)	Gentle teacher	-.356
12)	Draws out most of the knowledge from the students	-.355

All correlations are significant at the .05 level.

sometimes difficult circumstances and life experiences of individual students. One teacher arranged a large number and variety of course activities; the students were to select and do independently several that were in accord with their interests and irregular schedules. This flexibility was highly appreciated by the students. The other teacher encouraged students to draw upon their personal background, interests, and goals in completing an exercise designed to teach oral communication skills. The results of this adaptation were most gratifying to the teacher. Not only did the students learn the identified skill, but also demonstrated significant gains in self-confidence and critical thinking abilities.

On the other hand, neither teacher reported doing much in the way of identifying course goals related to community change. This added dimension would have made for a more complete Education of Equals approach. Jarvis (1987) notes that students taught in this manner are enabled to become active agents for social change, as opposed to only learning prescribed material, meeting socially-accepted standards, or fitting in to existing occupational roles.

We were unable to detect any major qualitative change in philosophy of education in these faculty as a result of their experience teaching in the RCEC program. Their responses seemed very similar to what they do in their regular courses with traditional undergraduate students on the main campus. They may have become more articulate and even more loyal in regard to the Education From Above or the Education of Equals model, but they seemed basically to teach in the RCEC program as they would teach anywhere.

In order to get some idea of the effects of individual faculty on the student, we sorted the questionnaires according to preferred teacher and compared the results graphically. As shown on the next page in the left part of Figure 1, the students who favored teachers A and B (Education from Above model) tended to have higher incomes overall than the students who favored teachers C and D (Education of Equals model). The center part of Figure 1 shows that students who favored A and B reported somewhat less support for RCEC

FIGURE 1

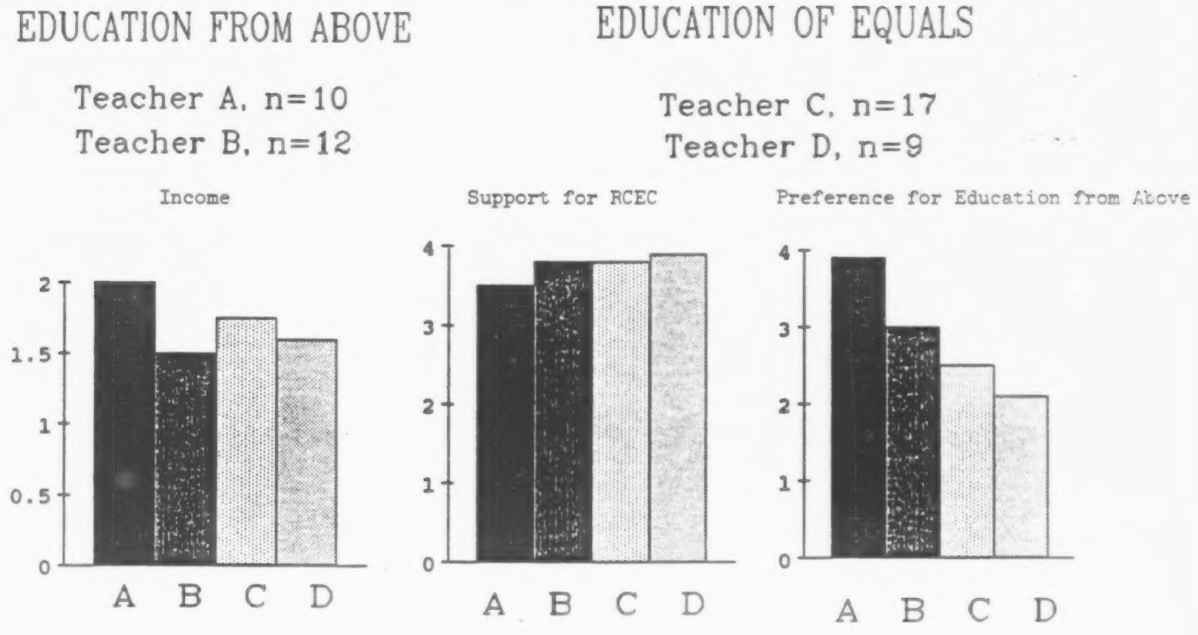

Figure 1. Students who named the more traditional teachers as their favorite tended to have higher incomes, show less support for RCEC, and express more of a preference for Education from Above. In contrast, students who named the more non-traditional teachers as their favorite tended to have lower incomes, show more support for RCEC, and express more of a preference for Education of Equals.

than those favoring C and D. And the right part of the figure shows that students favoring A and B expressed more support for the Education from Above approach, whereas those favoring C and D were more supportive of the Education of Equals approach.

While causal relationships cannot be drawn from these data, it does appear that the teacher's educational philosophy could influence student perceptions and attitudes. That is, teachers in the Education from Above versus the Education of Equals tradition could inculcate similar values in their students or, alternatively, students already believing a certain way could be drawn to teachers who think similarly. Either way, the Education from Above teacher poses an interesting dilemma for groups like RCEC. RCEC espouses democratic values and a commitment to community change through the empowerment of poor people. Yet Education from Above teachers would likely have a different set of priorities (see Table 1 above). At the same time, many students, particularly those with higher incomes, like these teachers and even prefer their approach.

Thus the dilemma: How does a group like RCEC remain democratic and sensitive to the preferences of all the students while at the same time preserving the group's goals and philosophy against those who think differently?

We will conclude by suggesting two strategies for faculty selection and orientation that we think will be helpful in this matter.

Conclusions

First, **all teachers should be selected with affective traits in mind**. As indicated in Table 5, characteristics such as self-reliance, reliability, truthfulness, conscientiousness, sincerity, and sensitivity to the needs of others appear to be very important. Students also picked "happy, helpful, warm, friendly, and tactful" as important teacher characteristics.

And secondly, **some systematic program of faculty/student orientation should be developed**. Since students within RCEC tend to vary in their expressed preference for teachers and teaching philosophy, it would seem inconsistent with RCEC's democratic values to select only non-traditional teachers. However, selecting traditional, more authoritarian teachers is problematic in that they may influence or at least reinforce attitudes that run counter to the purpose and goals of RCEC. A systematic orientation program could take the form of regular workshops for faculty covering such topics as RCEC and methods of Education of Equals and of a course sequence for students covering such topics as RCEC and community education, to be taken near the beginning and again toward the end of their studies. Also, the leaders of RCEC must be alert to the potential influence of teachers and remain clear and strong in their vision and commitment. An effective faculty/student orientation program coupled with strong leadership may permit the selection of a wide range of teachers holding various points of view, without concern for damage to RCEC's goals in community development and social justice.

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EDUCATION THAT MAKES A DIFFERENCE: APPALACHIAN COMMUNITY FACTORS IN LEADERSHIP EDUCATION

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Please imagine a small two-year college in the Kentucky mountains that was struggling to pay costs of education, by fund-raising, for valuable Appalachian young people; ...that sought to educate mountain youth as leaders; ...that also accepted the financial burden of providing scholarships for its graduates in their professional studies in universities; ...that developed and underwrote a program of Appalachian studies; ...that created and funded programs of outreach to its surrounding communities; ...that having received a quarter million dollar grant, sought the grantor's approval to recruit other Appalachian colleges and divide the grant with them, to accomplish a regional program of outreach.

That college was Alice Lloyd College, whose challenge was "Education that makes a difference." Its outreach activity was ALCOR, benefiting isolated children and families in remote hollows and students of six Appalachian colleges who would have this leadership experience.

In this paper I draw on Alice Lloyd College in Pippa Passes in eastern Kentucky, as a case study in leadership education through community involvement. I want to examine its purposes and programs, and some societal factors of that experience. I report on what I learned of Mrs. Alice Lloyd's early experiences beginning in 1916 and my own experiences from 1942 to 1977, when I was active in the institution's goal-setting and educational development as teacher, dean, and president.

Education that makes a difference, I propose, lifts aspirations, builds capabilities....and more! It is more than being educated for oneself with increased individual skills, careers. It is willingness to be of value to others. It is grown in the context of community needs and possibilities.

For this education, when everything is needed you start somewhere. You start with strengthened personal identity and experiences of success and confidence. It may grow in moral purpose, generosity, fairness, loyalty, concern for others, determination to make a difference. The college whose students and faculty participate in such a venture may be called a "College of Character."

The model provided by Alice Lloyd College is not the only model of education enriched by appreciation of environment, people, and community that we could describe. Appalachian, black, native American sub-cultures provide more than their share of such community education efforts.

This audience knows Highlander Center's socio-political-ethical concerns and action. We share a cultural pride generated by Mike Mullins and the Hindman Settlement. We treasure Burton and Mary Rogers' home-grown laboratories of the earth's formation and natural environment related to life, collected by students at Pine Mountain Settlement, which many teachers in many high schools might create with their students, eagerly, significantly.

Such programs need to be more widely known in our broader society. Eliot Wigginton is one who extends awareness of community-enriched education beyond this conference nationally.

Finally, we stipulate too that it is early childhood education, not higher education, which is the crucial foundation for individuals' and our society's adequacy, correction, excellence or disgrace--quality education especially for children whose family supports are deficient. Other sessions of this conference attend to this.

But we are here to discuss the "Role of Regional Colleges and Universities." All is not lost. Colleges can do much in second or even last chance, for promising youth whose "backgrounds" have failed them heretofore.

It is a great occasion when young persons leave home for college, at least partly on their own. They are open to important quests. It is a time to help them with information and experience to understand their quest. They are gaining some distance to cherish and critique their Appalachian people and communities. They assess themselves in interaction with Appalachia's strengths and deprivations, to learn what they can do and be.

I re-state a thesis. Appalachian college students learn and practice leadership in interaction with the Appalachian community. They learn what leadership is. They care, respect, join with their Appalachian people in bettering lives. My questions and perhaps yours arise from these propositions.

A "Sense of Community" in Appalachia

It is important, I believe, to distinguish a "sense of community" from ordinary societal constructs. It thrives among rural Appalachian people. We have seen it present strong incentives for youth's educational development. Its cohesion, common emotions, and remembrances create a sense of belonging, communities of concern, and powerful supports for persons.

A sense of community and its values provide individuals a place. It infuses ordinary relationships with a character of mutuality and otherness, of generosity and caring. I will be anagogical: such concern for others is as close to a universal "otherness" as we ordinarily experience in daily life--a field of force that helps to cure us of ourselves.

I stress this community of concern because we are all aware of contrary evidences that Appalachian communities hinder rather than encourage leadership development. Ann and Cecil Tickamyer, for instance, document Appalachia's persistent poverty and its effects in **Poverty in Appalachia** (the Appalachian Center's Data Bank Report #5, March 1987): The region's low-opportunity economy reduces incentives and creates barriers to advancement; meager schools with low aim are both cause and result of low levels of employment, health, and education.

In this setting, mountain teachers are often said to be the problem, and the claim is made that teachers from poor backgrounds with poor schooling perpetuate poor education to continuing generations of Appalachian children. Yet in 35 years at Alice Lloyd College, I taught and observed over a thousand mountain students who became teachers. Many contributed valuable imagination, humanity, dedication--and they were very good!

Have we time for what may be a true story, one we not only tell ourselves, we also don't mind other people telling? A city slicker from the North, curious about the area, drove up a hollow expecting to see mountaineers sitting beside their washing machines on their front porches, their bare feet on the railings. He found a porch-sitter, an elderly man. "Where are the natives?" he asked. Our mountain man sized him up pretty quick, "Heh, you've come the wrong season. They're all up in Ohio teaching school."

But mountain students don't show up well in test scores. In twenty years, we counted 400 central and western Kentucky students becoming National Merit Scholars while four attending eastern Kentucky schools were selected in the same period. One researcher in the late 1960s even found mountain students' college performance to be below entering test predictors. The same spring, we learned, the valedictorian, salutatorian, and 18 of the top 25 graduating students in a distinguished Lexington high school were migrants with elementary schooling in eastern Kentucky.

What the tests measure, in comparison with values we look for in youth, needs further study. I look forward with anticipation to Sherralyn Cox's presentation of values she has studied in Berea College students, which is coming next on the program.

I submit that if some individuals are thwarted by a limiting environment in Appalachia, others are energized by these limitations to struggle for change, to improve conditions of life for themselves and their people.

The Appalachian community may not easily or automatically motivate leadership education. But its challenges can be marshalled to stimulate achievement. Awareness of communities' and people's worth, as well as pride in their heritage, can be brought to reinforce individual purposes.

Alice Lloyd College's Early Tasks

Alice Lloyd College, known as Caney Junior College until 1962, was a residential college and community center with elementary and secondary schooling for much of its history. The early years are of historical interest.

When Alice Lloyd came to the region in 1916, it lacked institutions and services most of us would consider essential, and lacked professional persons to make up a leadership cadre for change. Knott County, where she located, was most isolated of all, formed late from the headwaters of five counties. All streams flowing in the county, tributaries of Big Sandy, Licking, Kentucky, and Cumberland Rivers, have their start there, for "you can walk to their heads."

A quarter of a million people, over 40,000 families, lived in its surrounding counties. Children attended school five months a year depending on weather and crops. Some older youth boarded at Morehead or Berea for college preparatory high school study. An unlikely center for excellence!

Mrs. Lloyd saw promise for the region's future in its young people. She declared, "The leaders are here!" and recruited volunteer teachers, nurses from "the North." She started 15 plank-sided high schools and 100 grade schools in eastern Kentucky communities.

Pupils crowded into primitive buildings at Pippa Passes to "take" grade and high school, to become leaders for their homeland. It was a hardy life. Students paid a semester's $10 Good Will Fee in potatoes or chickens. They all worked, helped build a rustic campus, committed themselves to goals of service and leadership.

After seven years, in 1923, three youth completed high school studies and Mrs. Lloyd began a junior college. Two of its first seven graduates in 1925 went on to become masters degree teachers, and the other five, medical doctors.

"Leadership is Service," Mrs. Lloyd taught. Her students planned personal "Purpose Roads" of accomplishment and service. Together they trusted preprofessional education, drill in tool attainment, and personal dedication to equip them for leadership.

A good part of the school's meager funds were devoted to providing scholarships for these two-year graduates when they went on to senior college or university professional studies. Dean M. M. White stated that Alice Lloyd's graduates were the finest transfer group to enter the University's junior class. Alice Lloyd elicited from students a moral obligation, an "unwritten pledge," to return to serve their own people.

Students and parents believed. As late as 1956, 90% of these college students were the first in their family to finish high school. By then Knott County consistently ranked second in the state, next to Fayette County, with 50% of high school graduates entering college.

Contributing social factors included these: 1) no competing jobs; 2) the growing belief that education was the way to a better life; and 3) there was this college, located near their homes, recognizably fitting their life experiences and their hopes.

A roll call of Alice Lloyd's leaders in the 1950s: Most elementary and secondary teachers (1500) in four surrounding counties; five school superintendents; 10 librarians; the region's first special education teachers; 15 physicians practicing in the mountain area; 8 dentists; 12 engineers; 10 ministers; three dozen lawyers; as many political leaders including the nation's education leader, Congressman Carl Perkins.

How was this accomplished? "Easy to make a difference when a self-reliant people with strong innate abilities, in a late frontier society, face their children's need for education in a changing world?" Perhaps so, if caring, energy, creativity, and opportunity are added to the mix.

Consider three interacting dynamics of Alice Lloyd's leadership education:

1) **Concern for people,** as individuals, to develop abilities, personal and social competencies and, as members of community, to assess functionally the opportunities and barriers with which their communities impact them.

2) **Sense of community and region, consensus on Appalachian values.** Family and community were a focus for students' commitment to benefit their people. At "Caney," warm faculty-student relationships, primitive living, limited finances, often creative teaching, afforded rich personal involvements in a college community that tried to meet their needs.

3) **Building self-esteem.** Students experienced success in a variety of activities: extemporaneous forum speaking; work responsibilities; doing their part in making the college exist; and drama, arts, crafts. These activities built confidence. Academically bright or slow, they saw themselves as persons with purposeful lives--competence grew from doing capable work and preparing for lives of service.

Social Changes--Two Appalachias

World War II's shifting employment patterns, outmigration and other social changes dramatically affected the region and the college. "It's like a funeral at home, with Daddy gone to Dayton"... or Columbus, Cincinnati, Detroit, Louisville, Chicago. Nearly 50% of Appalachia's people outmigrated in the 1950s and 1960s, men going first to look for jobs, families following. Experts taught that youth should not be educated to stay in the region, they must be trained for the "outside." Alice Lloyd College's faculty combatted that trend.

The to-and-fro of migration, as well as the increasing power of national media, brought pervasive regional changes. Mountain people adopted the larger society's interests. National societal factors that had left Appalachia relatively untouched earlier, became strong determinants. Warren Bryan Martin was one of a handful of educators who deplored the larger society's rampant individualism that was drowning out the warmth and mutuality of people in communities and sub-regions.

Throughout the region, earlier homogeneity gave way to separations. Up-hollows were severely drained, leaving thousands of rural communities lifeless, their neighborliness and sense of community and 90% of their population gone. Town folk were more separated from rural folk, the well-to-do more distant from the poor. Families were still a connection, but rural community concerns less so. Appalachia became "Two Appalachias," the prospering and the out-of-touch.

So far as education was concerned, national leaders seeking budget retrenchments proclaimed youth were over-educated, college education did not help them earn more money. They should be vocationally trained for the nation's needs. Appalachia's public schools declined. Dropouts driving coal trucks earned more than their teachers. Teachers went to factories. Parents who formerly believed, "My child will get an education and live better than I have," traded that vision for a job, a car, a house.

Alice Lloyd College came to realize its incoming students were no longer seeing themselves as future leaders, or different from the drop-outs or others of their age group who chose work over college.

The College realized it was important to clarify and support life goals, early, for the students who did enroll. And to equip youth adequately for a changing Appalachia and their own changing futures, it was clear they must move from passive to active learning--from static facts learning to significant problem solving. Alice Lloyd College developed classroom and community involvement strategies for students' decision-making and leadership experience.

Appalachian Learning Laboratory

The "Appalachian Learning Laboratory" was established in 1970. It drew together the College's earlier interests in Appalachian crafts, arts, ballad singing, drama and "Writers Workshop." These activities for students were expanded through funding from private foundations and the National Endowment for Humanities, which underwrote the costs of extensive Appalachian photo archives, oral history taping and transcribing (Weinberg and Shackleford's book, **Our Appalachia**, drew on these materials).

The College, it was thought, might valuably become a regional resource for the study of Appalachian life and culture. Appalachian students encountering larger America, needed deeper understanding of their own cultural roots. Important cross-cultural understanding also resulted from study groups and individuals from colleges in other regions, sometimes for graduate credit, who came to use the Laboratory.

There were structural changes. Faculty became acclimated to the cultural studies and outreach. Most contracted for one less classroom assignment and a specific Laboratory or outreach responsibility. A new academic calendar facilitated what we called the "Appalachian Term." Appalachian studies were effective, too, in extending unstigmatized guidance, reading improvement, and how-to-study services, not just to Upward Bound, but to all students.

Understanding grew in the College that the humanities and cultural values are not taught by specialists from top down, but are evoked from the cultural life of people seriously considered. We were all learners.

Community Outreach

Alice Lloyd College students always worked in library, offices, kitchen, tutoring. Now, explicitly, they engaged in community service and leadership experiences.

Students should not decide to invest their lives in their original communities by default--but by knowledge of the wider community and actual involvement in Appalachian service for a comparison of its value. These and other ingredients of enrichment should be available to students for their choice as to the investment of their lives.

As early as 1958, Alice Lloyd College had begun student involvement in community outreach. "Sociological and Economic Development Club" (SEDC) students, freshmen and sophomores, interviewed area leaders and business people on weekends, reported to campus forums, compiled a library of regional development possibilities.

"You're the first college student I ever seed," was heard from children in rural communities, to whom they modeled education and opportunity. School superintendents and principals opened schoolyards and classrooms for "Caney students'" weekend or summer activities with children, otherwise idle. The College worked also with Perley Ayer of the Council of Southern Mountains and assisted "Appalachian Volunteers" seeking ways to reach the most remote families.

In the 1960s, President Johnson enunciated "Great Society" goals at UK's Coliseum, and Governor Bert Combs' called for regional development in Kentucky. These gave important impetus to Alice Lloyd College community service and leadership efforts. Responding to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the College developed an extensive program of its students serving children and families in remote communities, and was briefly OEO's "applicant and delegating agency" for four eastern Kentucky counties. After three years, the Vietnam War substantially ended OEO funding.

Alice Lloyd College Out Reach (ALCOR)

Alice Lloyd College endeavored to maintain its outreach efforts for students and staff working with children and parents in most remote hollows in the summer of 1968, with almost no money.

An eastern foundation heard of ALCOR in 1969, then visited and made a three-year grant of $250,000 to expand the program. In the second and third years, Alice Lloyd College gained the foundation's approval to "risk the grant," to recruit other Appalachian colleges and divide the grant with them--to create a regional program of rural outreach.

Lees Junior College, Union, Hazard Community, Cumberland, and Southeast Community joined the program. ALCOR, Inc., organized its own board of trustees. The consortium colleges defined relationships. As a regional program, it attracted funding from the Appalachian Regional Commission and several foundations. ALCOR contracted with Spindletop Research for external evaluation.

ALCOR's objectives were to provide children with models of opportunity; to provide cultural, health, and learning activities for children and parents; to build community; and to encourage joint activities and communication.

Indigenous students were the catalysts, supervised by staff. The students "spoke the language," reached the people. Academic-year course work prepared them--in Alice Lloyd College, Appalachian sociology, health and first aid, teaching of reading. Students earned a minimum wage, coordinated with financial aid.

Summer program elements varied somewhat from college to college, but were generally as follows:

1) Recreational and cultural activities attracted children five days a week to reading, health and nutrition activities. Cookouts, horseshoes, community gatherings, and "Jack tales" brought families to see and hear the children's art work, music, nutrition and health dramas, in some cases to develop community associations.

2) Remedial and recreational reading increased children's proficiency and reached adults through the children.

3) Health screening and referral: health fairs in remote communities reached people who hesitated about visiting county-seat doctors' offices. And indigenous ALCOR students paved the way for people to accept the unfamiliar professionals. In one summer 10 physicians and 25 nurses screened 10,000 rural people in fifteen mountain counties.

4) Nutrition understanding and practice.

5) Community incentive grants of $150.00, provided by the Kellogg Foundation to ALCOR, stimulated four community associations to develop rural parks for recreation, several to undertake some aspect of community improvement, and one community to connect to the water system in Hazard.

Kellogg Foundation grants totaled $1.2

million in nine years. The foundation made site visits and evaluations. In 1980 the foundation reported, "ALCOR continues to perform a most important function for the residents of Appalachia, training the disadvantaged...to improve themselves through education."

ALCOR's student workers numbered 120-150 most summers. In addition to health screening, they taught and played with as many as 1800 children on a daily basis, counselled 300 dropouts and 300 potential dropouts, and became friends with 600 adults in isolated rural families. Casual rural community contacts were three times this number.

The most profound impact in our judgement was ALCOR student workers' personal growth and leadership and their increased motivation to work in leadership and service of the mountain people in the future. They described their experiences:

"This was the most valuable experience of my life" ...

"I helped people and made a contribution to my community" ...

"We lived in the community. Children were so eager for the program to start, they came to our house every morning and walked us to the center."

"When you love kids it is rewarding to see their improvement" ...

"I have learned more about my chosen profession during the last seven weeks, than in two years from books in school."

"I found that if I could live through this summer, I could be a social worker anywhere" ...

"I learned I loved working with people, and want to work in people-related fields the rest of my life."

Tracking these ALCOR students would make a worthy research project. They were leaders as students, many are now adult leaders in Appalachia.

I have not sought permission to name the student workers or ALCOR's directors and college leaders--but two Alice Lloyd College graduates should be noted: Dr. Bennie Bailey who studied social organizations, structured and directed the program; and Dr. Grady Stumbo who gave two summers during medical school to organize, recruit and administer a 15-county rural health screening program.

ALCOR's outreach activities ended in 1978. Individual colleges continued some program components. Depopulation was continuing in rural communities, outreach focused on families. Alice Lloyd College has strongly undertaken new challenges, as a four-year college, serving the mountain people and region.

Spin-offs and Applications

Eastern Kentucky's Coordinated Consumer Education Project (CCHEP) was funded by the Appalachian Regional Commission which engaged ALCOR to coordinate it with the region's various health providers, providing adult paraprofessionals instead of students for nutritional counselling of pregnant women and mothers of infants.

The "University Year of ACTION" came first to eastern Kentucky supporting ALCOR's consortium, then funded the individual colleges.

Applications: Concepts of service-and-learning grew markedly in the 1970s and 1980s. Beginning resources for study are **Giving Youth a Better Chance: Options for Education, Work and Service**, a report of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (Jossey-Bass, 1980); and **Synergist**, published three times a year by the National Center for Service-Learning, United States Government Printing Office. In Lexington we are familiar with the public schools' and UK's service-learning programs beginning in the 1970s, as well as the Appalachian Center's current application of these concepts for UK students, who can earn credit for community service internships.

The fall 1980 issue of **Synergist** reported on numerous other schoolcommunity programs:

- the University of Southern California directed 1500 college students working with inner-city children;

- Kent State allied with high schools in a similar effort;

- a New York City school conducted its entire academic program in 230 community agencies and enterprises;

- a New Orleans school board president with experience at all levels of education, favors volunteerism and service-learning and is quoted as saying, "The kindergarten level is a good place to start introducing community service--it particularly helps poor children to build positive self-image rather than the negative one often reinforced in the classroom;

- Denver's juvenile offenders improved basic skills and changed anti-social attitudes;

- a Cherokee Nation university organized for service-learning to meet adult students' needs, overcame "passive rural consciousness."

If we were to try to discover in an extended conference, a year-long retreat, Ethics for the Year 2000, we would have to learn first what community and humanity are. We are in a new day in hermeneutics, of people learning from each other. Global understanding, questions of peace and war really have to be addressed on a level of people in community.

Nuclear weapons are moot, people say, their use unlikely. The earth's environment and our ecological harm is our new agenda. Well, maybe these are happier questions: Mankind's reverence for Life? Our love and respect for all persons? Our children's rearing? Unemployment? Women and children's poverty? It's OK to seek gratifications, let things go as they may?

Before we think our civilization's fundamental challenges are remote from students' working in community, let us look to see how it affects young people's lives and dedication, when they tackle real human and societal problems in college-school-community settings.

College and community interaction is a growing need in our society. The all-university extension seems more needed today than when proposed in UK in the 1970s. Intelligence is capable, speaking truth and compassion, to assist in solving family, local community, global problems, when we employ it. It is character, concern for others, initiative, generosity that are our problematics.

Warren Bryan Martin writes in **A College of Character,** "Community is the word for those who would assure the survival of the species. It is the password for the future."

A sense of community will help meet difficult ethical questions of our future. It will make a difference.♦

APPALACHIAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: THEIR ROLE IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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This is more a think piece than a scholarly text. It is based primarily upon my personal knowledge of and experience with the Appalachian region, including time spent in the public schools--elementary, secondary, and undergraduate college--as a university teacher, and as a public official, working at the federal and state levels, in efforts to bring improvement in life opportunities to the people of the mountains.

Some of the ideas presented have been and are being attempted in some measure, and with varying degrees of success, by institutions of higher learning in Appalachia.

Basically, the thrust of my argument is that Appalachian colleges and universities must be more substantively involved in the economic life-blood of the region. I am suggesting further that this should be done as a matter of public policy at these public institutions and that this commitment should be reflected in all that the universities do.

This paper presents a traditional model of the proper role of public colleges and universities in Appalachia -- instruction, research, and leadership -- but defines these traditionally accepted responsibilities in expansive form and with a peculiarly Appalachian emphasis. Too often and for too long our public institutions of higher education have interpreted their role in far too circumscribed a vision. Appalachians have suffered by this timid approach. My approach sharpens the requirements for the traditional instruction, research, and leadership model, demands greater direct involvement in regional affairs than most public universities have generally attempted, and tries to address the special needs of the people and the region. While most, probably all, of this would apply in equal measure to all of Central Appalachia, my focus is East Kentucky and the public institutions of higher learning in this area. The reason for this eastern Kentucky emphasis is simply that this is the part of Appalachia that I know best.

Instruction of High Quality

If we define the primary responsibilities of our academic institutions to be instruction, research, and leadership, the "first among equals" of these three responsibilities is instruction. But not simply instruction; rather, instruction of the highest possible quality.

First, it is expected that an undergraduate education of distinction be provided to Appalachian youths. Given the surplus of well-trained Ph.D.'s in most disciplines and the basic nature of most undergraduate course work, there is no excuse for inferior undergraduate schooling. This is especially true since these colleges and universities have limited expectations and requirements for faculty research. Therefore, if faculty are not required to demonstrate scholarly prowess by performing research and publishing their findings, they can and ought to be required to demonstrate their ability by good teaching.

Second, strong support services for undergraduates, particularly during the critical first two years, must be provided. This is crucial because of the inadequate academic preparation given to many Appalachian students by their public schools and the low socioeconomic circumstances from which so many students come.

Third, attention to the distinctiveness

of the Appalachian experience should be an integral part of the undergraduate curricula. Students should be introduced to the history, culture, political economy, and sociology of their region. A grounding in the fundamentals of their heritage would serve to replace the too often felt embarrassment about their background with a sense of pride.

Fourth, graduate education should be sensitive to the development needs and employment opportunities of the region. The economic development realities of the present and the reasonable expectations for the future should influence, but not dominate, the graduate offerings of these regional institutions. For example, eastern Kentucky would be well served by the education of more mining, chemical, and petroleum engineers, business entrepreneurs, and graduate education related to the diversification of the regional economy to fit the new economic age, and the education of fewer physical education majors. The vocational-technical emphasis of graduate education I am suggesting is premised upon the reality of scarce public monies for higher education and the expectation that the major state university (or universities) will remain the citadel for most graduate education.

Fifth, most regional institutions lack aggressive and successful fund-raising for scholarship endowment. While some private institutions, like Berea College and Alice Lloyd College, have done a good job raising money, most public institutions have not. Instead, these schools have been content to exist on government subsidy. Public universities and colleges should devote substantive effort to the establishment of a significant Appalachian scholarship fund. An aggressive campaign with a clearly articulated goal of raising money to endow a scholarship fund for bright and highly motivated eastern Kentucky young people, chaired by a well-known and well-respected native of the region, and targeted to wealthy Kentuckians and a large group of more modest graduates of the institution, would reap a high reward. This fund could be used to attract leading high school graduates and to provide assistance for able students of limited financial circumstances.

Last, greater partnership and less debilitating competition between the different public and private colleges and universities attempting to serve the same region would enhance the cumulative educational environment. Why cannot the academic vice presidents and the deans, the department chairmen and representative faculty from the different institutions come together on a periodic basis to review their respective academic programs and seek ways to join forces for the common good. Cooperative instructional planning, development, and offerings would enable the different schools that share a common mission to play to their individual strengths and address their weaknesses. This would be true of campus and off-campus courses. Beyond the basic core curricula to which all undergraduates should be exposed, such an approach would encourage greater specialization of high quality among the different schools. This process of joint institutional effort should enable a greater number and a higher percentage of genuinely first-class courses and departments. It would strengthen the entire undergraduate and graduate education of Appalachian colleges and universities.

Let us now turn to the second major responsibility of these institutions.

Research

The fact that research is not a top priority at these institutions does not mean that it should be ignored. This is especially true of applied, as opposed to basic research. Rather, it can and should be an important activity of learning and useful application. Faculty should be encouraged to undertake research in their disciplines, and those faculty members who have demonstrated scholarly productivity should be rewarded by tangible means as is done at research institutions. Promotion and reduction in teaching load should follow published scholarship.

Research projects related to Appalachia should be especially encouraged. Let me give some examples.

First, the term paper is the traditional means of introducing students to research. Unfortunately, too many East Kentucky high school graduates come to college with little, if any, preparation in this activity. Some are terrorized by the prospect of organizing and carrying out a research project and many others are intimidated by the enormity of the undertaking. A two-page essay is as much as many of them have ever attempted. The fact that the subject matter assigned is often as familiar to these mountain youths as the Chinese alphabet increases their fears. Most stumble through the experience, but few emerge from these early exposures to scholarly inquiry with a liking for research. Precisely the converse is too often the fact. Eliot Wigginton, a high school teacher from North Georgia, has clearly shown that when properly introduced Appalachian youths can perform research, and can do so well and with enthusiasm. He had his students do oral histories with their older family members and friends. The famous Foxfire books testify to their success. It was the method and the subject matter that made the difference.

Why not consider applying the same principle to student research in the first two years of undergraduate training? What could be more relevant to an introductory course in political science than a paper analyzing an election in the student's home county? Or, for a course in agriculture, a study of the area's livestock population, and its past, present, and future possibilities?

The point is, research skills are valuable. Why not encourage students to acquire these skills by allowing research topics of interest; and in the process allow them to learn more about their native land? Conceptualization of a problem statement, formulation of a hypothesis, data gathering, analysis, and the drawing of conclusions are tools important to the student's success in years ahead. Their introduction to this process would be less stressful and their acquisition of these skills more likely if the methods were flexible and they were able to choose topics related to their environment.

Second, as noted, faculty in most Appalachian institutions of higher learning perform limited scholarly inquiry. However, among those faculty who do such work, there should be encouragement to consider Appalachian topics. One is hard-pressed to think of a discipline in which scholars could not find intriguing research options within the highlands. Scholars in the social sciences would find a cornucopia of issues--the economy, migration, politics, and social behavior. Those in the humanities would find a treasure trove in the history, literature, and culture of the region. The flora and fauna, the geology, and the problems of pollution, of health care, of transportation, and natural resources such as coal, oil, and gas, would likewise offer opportunities for investigation by the biological and physical sciences. Faculty in the professional fields of education, business, agriculture, law, and medicine could spend a lifetime analyzing the problems and potential, and in prescribing solutions in their specialties.

Applied research such as I have decribed would make an important contribution to the knowledge base of the region. It would assist in a more accurate understanding of its assets and liabilities. The findings of such research would assist Appalachian public school teachers, entrepreneurs, farmers, and public policy makers. It could be translated directly into improved life opportunities for the people. It could provide the data base, and possibly even the theoretical framework, for progressive problem-solving.

Third, just as we shall shortly suggest that students would benefit greatly from role models of success, so too would faculty at Appalachian institutions. These faculty are isolated from peers in their fields, often consider themselves to be second-class citizens of the scholarly community, and have limited exposure to professors at the top of their discipline. These Appalachian faculty members would benefit greatly from meeting, talking with, and listening to lectures of truly distinguished professors. To accomplish this, faculty should be enabled to attend conferences and professional meetings, especially if they have papers for presentation. Conference papers, while not as indicative of scholarly achievement as publications in referee journals, can serve the same purpose of stimulating research interest and recognition as a contributing member of the academic community. While budget constraints tend to discourage faculty participation at professional meetings, the money saved is often false economy. Faculty need support too, just as do students. This Conference is an outstanding example of the kind of activity I am suggesting. What is distressing, however, is how very few professors from eastern Kentucky's public universities are presenting papers or in attendance.

Leadership

All that we have discussed is related to the development of the region. But it is in the leadership, generally known as the "community service" function of these colleges and universities, that direct and substantive involvement in regional development can and should take place. A university is a valuable development tool. Its credibility, its faculty and staff, its information and its technology are major assets in the development of an area. For example, to assist in the attraction of new industry, these institutions could compile labor force data, as well as inventory industrial sites and parks, the existing industries, and the governmental services available. They could also use their academic training programs, especially in engineering, the sciences, and business, to design tailored training programs for a particular company's needs, as lures to industrial prospects.

In addition, the region's academic institutions could offer to existing industries and indigenous entrepreneurs an array of direct services, such as business problem-solving, market analysis and product marketing, management training and economic or business forecasting, and the use of new technology. These educational, managerial, and technological services provided directly to employers in their place of business could be the difference between success and failure.

While it is important to work closely with those organizations that traditionally serve to advance the cause of economic development, like Area Development Districts, Industrial Foundations, and Chambers of Commerce, it is equally important to recognize that development is a broad goal and that a public college or university has the responsibility to serve all members of society. Accordingly, non-traditional development organizations that are fighting for the betterment of their communities should have available to them the same access to institutional resources and services. These non-traditional groups would include school reform movements seeking to improve the quality of public education in the mountains, residents demanding clean water, or the various community-based corporations trying to build low-income housing.

It requires a delicate balancing act to assist and support both traditional power structure and non-traditional advocacy organizations, but then, academic institutions are supposed to be open to different values, different ideas, and different points of view. The bottom line is that Appalachian universities have important resources to offer their region for the purpose of economic development. These resources should be fully developed and utilized on behalf of the region's needs. It is not enough that they be "offered" in the classroom, they should be "provided" in the plants, factories, and mines. Now let us review some examples.

Adopt a School System

Appalachian institutions of higher

education have an obligation to involve themselves in the daily life of the region's public school systems. Nearly all of the public universities presently offer some form of service to these elementary and secondary schools. This has proved to be woefully inadequate. The preparation of Appalachian school administrators and teachers, student test scores, and the quality of the educational experience in a representative classroom, are indicting evidence that greater involvement is required. Something new would be refreshing. Why not, for example, establish the "Adopt a School System Program" to demonstrate what can be done to resurrect a school system when a college seriously involves itself?

In this program the college would use its faculty resources on behalf of a single county or city school system for a semester or school year. Faculty would meet with the school board, superintendents, principals, teachers, and parent organizations, to explain the services available and to assess needs. Once needs were determined, appropriate educational specialists would come into the school district to work directly with administrators, teachers, students, and parents. Specific goals would be established with strict time-lines for achievement, and the program would be implemented. Rigorous evaluation would be conducted at the conclusion to determine effectiveness. A quality program of this nature could yield dramatic results, would provide a laboratory for faculty and graduate students, opportunities for research, demonstrate the university's commitment to the public schools, help these schools solve their problems, be a model for other school districts to follow, and would quickly have school systems competing with each other for the chance to participate. Over time, all school systems in the universities' region would be able to participate.

Public Affairs Institute

It would be an important public service for universities to inform and educate the region's elected and appointed officials on issues of the day. This would include officials at the city, county, and state levels. A better understanding of issues crucial to the area, like education, health care, oil and gas exploration, economic development, clean water, solid waste, transportation and highway maintenance, taxation, and the relationship between how these issues are addressed and the future of the region, might lead to improved public decision making. This possibility would be enhanced if similar efforts were undertaken by way of public forums to educate the general public and media about these same issues, thus encouraging the birth of a constituency for improved public policy at the local level.

To be most effective, a public affairs institute would provide an on-going series of seminars and workshops on and off-campus. The state parks would be ideally suited for these off-campus offerings. Universities should secure co-sponsorship of their programs with the relevant professional associations of the public officials, e.g., Kentucky County Judges Association, Kentucky Association of County Officials, Area Development Districts. Program content and structure should be jointly determined, and every effort made to choose speakers who are not only expert in their respective fields, but equally expert at presenting their material to an audience of politicians and officials.

Role Models

Appalachian students desperately need role models of success. They need to be introduced to successful Appalachians and Kentuckians in a wide variety of fields. They need to learn that in addition to country music, Appalachians can and have distinguished themselves in law, business, medicine, politics, literature, and other professions. A "Distinguished Appalachians Program" should be an on-going part of the undergraduate experience. Such a program would bring individuals like Governor Bert T. Combs, Harry

Caudill, James Still, George Evans, Terry McBrayer, Tracy Farmer, Grady Stumbo, and others to the campus of mountain institutions. Meeting fellow eastern Kentuckians eminent in their respective fields would encourage our youths to realize and to believe that they can be anything that they want to be. These role models could serve to inspire young people to aim high, to reach for the stars. I do not know of a single thing that our colleges and universities could do that is more important than this.

Leadership Development

Appalachia has been accused of many things, but having good leadership is not among them. If there is one thing which could be identified as a principal cause of the region's problems or being of greater contributing cause than any single item, it has been the historic lack of leadership. While inadequate leadership among public officials is well-known, it is of similar proportion in the private sector. The region has simply been without enough strong and effective leaders.

The region's colleges and universities can and should address this problem. By working in conjunction with the public schools, they could assist in the identification of promising young leaders and in the establishment of leadership training programs. During summers, leadership institutes could be held to groom students for future responsibility. The Appalachian scholarship fund, mentioned earlier, could be used to provide incentives for youths who have demonstrated not only academic prowess but natural qualities of leadership. There are those who suggest that leaders are born, not made, but certainly there are many important skills that may be acquired to enable one to be a better leader. Universities must fill this vacuum.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to provoke critical thinking about the role of public colleges and universities in Appalachia. A more activist role has been suggested, with an increased involvement in development issues, if these institutions are to have a more substantive impact. It is not enough that they follow the traditional role of the regional university. Much more is required because of the extraordinary needs of the Appalachian region. Yet, this more expansive interpretation of these institutions' proper role is defined within the bounds of their traditionally accepted functions of "instruction, research, and leadership."

The point is that these colleges and universities can and should be, as a matter of public policy, the spark plug of development within their respective areas. They should instill within their students the desire, and provide to them the educational tools, to remake the region for the benefit of its residents. And they should provide to the other educational, economic, and political institutions of the region the leadership necessary to lead Appalachia into the 21st century. These are the challenges facing higher education in Appalachia.♦

APPALACHIAN VALUES CHANGE IN BEREA COLLEGE STUDENTS AND ALUMNI

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When the President of Ferrum College, Joseph T. Hart, wrote about the future role of independent colleges in Appalachia in 1976, he noted that there was generally a "lack of higher education focus on rural and human problems" (p. 4) because "the land grant institutions and community colleges...[had] focused on production economics, and the private colleges [had] generally adhered to the traditional liberal arts" (p. 5). President Hart suggested that the private colleges, having "interdisciplinary and humanistic purposes" should consider these rural and human problems when they identified their future institutional roles. Instead of being merely bystanders, those in higher education should take advantage of the "cleavages in the region...(such as those existing between heritage and economic enterprise; between insiders and outsiders; between old and new)..[and these could provide] a natural subject for discourse" and problem-solving very much in tune with "the ultimate goal of liberal arts learning" which, for many educators, as well as for Hart, was and is the achievement of an "holistic understanding of the interrelationships within society" (pp. 5-7).

Logan Wilson was cited by Hart as Wilson made the call for higher education to "renew its age-old purpose of being out on the cutting edge of knowledge, looking for academic challenges for the use of liberal learning in making present life better for humankind, as well as preparing young lives for fulfillment and contribution in the years ahead" (p. 9).

Cratis Williams (1976) has also examined the role of Appalachian colleges and universities in addressing their curricula as they related to the region, often finding "...a large number of conservative colleges and universities which generally refrain[ed] from becoming involved in the cultural traditions, social conditions, and economic problems of the region" (p.1). In his discussion of the future role of Appalachia's colleges, Williams described this scenario:

> The native mountaineer who completes in a school within the mountain region a program leading to a degree in technology runs the crippling risk of arriving at the market place with a trained hand and a muddled head because nothing in particular has happened to his mind. Wearing his degree proudly, he is likely to masquerade as one who is in position to render humanistic judgments when little or nothing in his educational preparation has ever been directed toward a challenge of his unexamined provincial assumptions, or of his inherited prejudices, or of his regional limitations. (p. 3)

Williams does note that there are "a few institutions in Appalachia that are responding in varying degrees to the needs of Appalachian students" (p. 6). In fact, there is an institution which was founded in 1855 on the premise that certain social problems of the region were so severe as to demand the establishment of a "community that would demonstrate the advantages of life without slavery..." (Peck, 1955, p. 1).

Largely through the efforts of the colleagues in the antislavery movement--Cassius Clay, the gentleman landowner, and John Fee, the rural pastor--Berea was founded on the Ridge, first as a church, then as a one-room district school, and then as a college. The founders "believed in the value of freedom of speech as a means of solving social problems" (p. 2). They planned a community which would have "political strength in the mountainous part of the state" of Kentucky (p. 4).

The first Constitution and Charter providing for a college in Berea was drafted in 1859. The first bylaw stated:

> The purpose of the College shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, and at the least possible expense, and all the inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the Board of Trustees shall be offered.

And the second bylaw stated that "this College shall be under an influence strictly Christian, and as such opposed to sectarianism, slaveholding, caste, and every other wrong institution or practice" (p. 13).

Berea College President Fairchild, writing in a book designed for use as an information source for the many donors to the College, declared Berea's "first and chief duty to [be to] lead our pupils to the Savior of sinners" (Fairchild, p. 71). But Berea had other than a religious character--it was also political in the 1875 of Fairchild.

> It is political because it is religious. The Christianity it teaches does not permit men to ignore their obligations to maintain ...a righteous government....We believe in equal civil rights to all citizens; and we stand ready to co-operate with that [political] party through which we can most effectually promote that principle" (p. 72).

The Berea College mission more than 100 years ago was "to promote education, religion, and general civilization; to do this by furnishing Christian teachers, preachers and cultured businessmen to instruct and lead the people" (p. 72). President Fairchild saw Berea's relation to "the colored people and the mountain people" as being a "peculiar responsibility" (p. 73). Against racial prejudice, the "principles and feelings" obtained by students at Berea were to be carried to all parts of the country (p. 81). Since the mountain people were recognized as being "generally poor" and as having been "deprived of the advantages of education", in 1875, "the most hopeful means of doing them good...[was] to induce many of their most promising young men and women to go to some good school and fit themselves for teachers" (pp. 86-89).

With this heritage of strong social, political, and religious emphasis the Berea College mission is relatively unchanged today. Students have for generations been caught up in the powerful sense of zeal about serving which is openly expressed by the College, its faculty, and its curriculum. For many years the mountain heritage has been more fully understood and appreciated by students who have participated in complementary education programs (Williams, p. 6). Student involvement such as that experienced in the Labor Program, the Mountain Day Celebration, the dance ensemble, and the freshman level interdisciplinary courses can be viewed as having a potentially important influence on student accomplishment as well as upon their development of regional awareness. The extensive collection of Appalachian materials at the Hutchins Library has helped to link the students with the region in which Berea College is located and from which they primarily come.

The Berea College Values Study

With this introduction serving as a review for the many individuals who are already familiar with Berea's founding principles and with views of Appalachian institutions of higher education, it is now appropriate to present an overview of a unique research project which was begun at Berea College in the early 1960s. On the national level, the 1950s and 60s were a time of considerable research investigation in higher education, focussing on the impact of college on students. Studies of student change (also discussed as student growth, development, or adaptation) highlighted change in students' skills, mental ability, values, and attitudes. The original work at Berea was outlined by Dean Louis

Smith with the ultimate project design, direction, and analysis being accomplished by Professor James Bobbitt. The Lilly Endowment funded what was to become a six-year research effort which began in June, 1962.

Bobbitt emphasized that more was known about the academic accomplishments of its students than of the non-academic.

> [The Berea College] curriculum places emphasis on common learnings which characterize the educated man and ..the nurturing of attitudes and skills of liberal scholarship and commitment to service....In terms of success of graduates in graduate schools, awards received by graduates, positions held by graduates, and evaluations by accrediting agencies, the college seems to be achieving its high academic goals quite well" (Bobbitt, 1969, p. 7).

The 1953 investigation by Knapp and Greenbaum regarding from where the next generation of scholars was likely to come placed Berea high as a motivator. More recently, U.S. News and World Report (1987) established Berea College as the best small liberal arts college in the nation. Through the tradition of hard work and accomplishment, the students can find at Berea a different world, one of books and ideas.

As Bobbitt emphasized, "[less was and is]...known about the effectiveness of the college in achieving its non-academic goals." Therefore, two studies were implemented. The first was conducted during the 1960-61 academic year as a survey of student attitudes and opinions. The second "was a longitudinal study of characteristics of a single class during its four years at college" (p. 8). Twenty-seven years later, such a study can still be recognized as unique and potentially valuable.

* * *

The single Berea College class which is the focus of this paper is the Class of 1966. The class started in 1962 with 386 students. It was predicted that through attrition their number would be reduced to less than 250, so the entire class was considered for study rather than a sample. Many instruments were chosen for administration in this longitudinal research. Several, such as the Omnibus Personality Inventory, the College Qualification Tests, and the Student and College Ability Tests, were nationally validated and normed instruments. Several locally-produced forms were also specially created for use in the research. But the primary instrument of focus in the study discussed here is the Allport, Vernon, Lindzey Study of Values.

Efforts were begun in the winter of 1985 to continue the Bobbitt research project after the files of the 1960s were rediscovered by Berea's Director of Institutional Research at that time, Ms. Karen Carey. The re-administration of selected instruments, including the Study of Values and the use of newer sources for data provision, were implemented through the Department of Higher Education and then the Department of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation at the University of Kentucky. The project goal was to retest as many of the Berea College Class of 1966 as could be located. By the time of graduation there were 208 students remaining according to Bobbitt (p. 133). When the three Study of Values sets of scores are considered, there are just 53 alumni who present 1962, 1966, and 1986 scores.

It will be helpful first to consider in more detail the Study of Values -- its basis, its purpose, and its use. Then we can look at an aspect of this instrument that is especially relevant to the consideration of regional issues.

The most widely used instrument in researching values is the Study of Values. It was devised by Allport and Vernon in 1931 and revised with Lindzey in 1951 and 1960. As the primary author of the Study of Values, Gordon Allport's work as a psychologist in this country and in Europe utilized the personality typology of

Germany's Edouard Spranger "which defends the view that personalities of men (or 'types of men' as Spranger called them) are best known through a study of their values or evaluative attitudes" (Allport, Vernon, Lindzey, 1970, p. 3). The six types of person suggested for study are represented in the six scales of the Study of Values which indicate values preferences. Allport regarded Spranger's use of ideal types as gauges of the unifying influences in human lives as the basis for a means of quantifying, and, therefore, of delineating values preferences.

The Study of Values instrument asks that a respondent rank his choices of response from 0 to 3 in the first 30 questions and from 1 to 4 in the second 15 questions. This ranking allows one to specify one's own degree of preference when evaluating each item of the instrument. The six value scales are the: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. When these six value-types are presented as profiles, they show the relative strength of each type of value in comparison to the other values measured by the instrument. I have chosen to look at the social scale whose content was alluded to by President Fairchild in 1875. It is also a topic more obviously related to this conference session.

The definition of the social scale from the Study of Values Manual is:

> Social--The highest value for this type is the altruistic or philanthropic love of people. "The social man prizes other persons as ends, and is, therefore, himself kind, sympathetic, and unselfish. He is likely to find the theoretical, economic, and aesthetic attitudes cold and inhuman" (Allport, et al., p. 5). Love is seen as the only suitable form of human relationship (Bobbitt, p. 79; Allport et al., p. 5).

The Study of Values is standardized on a college population with nearly "all students coming from liberal arts colleges and pursuing a program of liberal arts study" (p. 11). These 20 institutions, including Oberlin, Dartmouth, Harvard, Bennington, and Radcliffe, can be seen to be far from representative of American institutions of higher education. They present many of the institutions of high reputation in our country.

The findings in 1969 reveal that values preference change varied greatly by Study of Values scale when freshman and senior group scores were considered. During the college years (1962-66), significant change was seen for the aesthetic (increased in value), political (decreased in value), religious (decreased in value), and economic (decreased in value) scales. But alumni change (1966-86) was significant only for the economic (increased in value).

What can be discovered by looking more closely at the social scale longitudinal results presented by this research? Berea College freshmen in 1962 entered college with social values at 41.46 as measured by the Study of Values, a level above that of the collegiate norm of 39.56. Both of these group scores are considered by the instrument's authors as being in the average range. After four years of college, the Berea group scores decreased to 41.3. In 1986, the alumni had increased only slightly to 41.8. Neither of these changes is significant.

When social values are controlled by gender, the change patterns are slightly different. As freshmen and seniors, females revealed higher social scale preferences than did male students, with the males being at the collegiate norm in both years. Female social values scores were nearly static over all three testing periods, and in 1986, social values were relatively undifferentiated by gender.

It is also necessary to investigate individual student/alumnus values change or stability in this consideration of Berea College research in order to deepen our understanding of what occurred during the research period. While mean scores were reported above, we should note that the range of scores on the social value scale indicates considerable variation among individuals. When 1986 respondent scores are consulted, the range of scores is from 59 to 27. Change from 1966 to 1986 ranges from +22 points on the scale to -32. One alumna, who is an Appalachian native and currently lives in Appalachia, showed stability in social scoring by exhibiting the same social score in 1986 as in 1966, but she had increased in social values preference by 20 points during her college years, compiling what is considered to be a high score of 57. Responding in writing to questions about the meaningfulness of her Berea College experiences, she stated: "Berea's emphasis on our Christian duty to work to help others who are less fortunate remains with me....Berea reinforced the values that I learned at home and at church, but it did this by teaching me to question and to test them."

Data were also obtained from Berea College alumni through the use of additional instruments. As a data collection device, the Pace Alumni Activity Scales were administered in 1986. This collection of instruments allows the assessment of the alumnus' activities during the previous year in certain categories through a count of the frequency of items checked by the respondent. The current research tallies the frequency of items checked on the community activity scale because of its potential relevance to the Study of Values' social scale as well as its reference to the altruistic values and accomplishments so emphasized by Berea College attendance.

Pace Alumni Activity Scales scores for the alumna discussed above reveal considerable community involvement with 11 out of 12 scale items checked. When her scores and comments are considered in combination, it appears that this individual's high social scores on the Study of Values is indicative of her valuing and participating in aspects of life considered to be related to social activities in the community.

Another individual revealed a 22 point increase on the social scale during the alumni period studied, scoring at the top of the average range with a 45. This alumnus had decreased in social preferences by 16 points during college. His written responses in 1986 indicate that he felt great pride in Berea's racial stands throughout its history. As an Appalachian who now lives outside of the region, he checked seven out of twelve on the community activities scale, indicating participation in social areas just slightly above the respondents' mean score of 6.95.

Another Appalachian now living outside of the region stated in the essays: "I appreciate having the opportunity to live and work with people from all races and creeds. I'm now a very unbiased person and I think Berea College had a lot to do with that." This individual scored in the average range for social values in the Study of Values as well as on the community activities scale for the Pace instrument. But she does emphasize in written expression that the values emphasized by President Fairchild 100 years ago are still to be associated with being a Berea alumna.

These glimpses of individuals from the Berea College Class of 1966 can serve as examples, as they demonstrate how the Study of Values can be utilized for studying change over time of values preferences in the social realm. Trends in the data indicate that it may be beneficial for colleges and universities to examine group scores on instruments such as the Study of Values in order to obtain the large picture of the impact of college experiences on students. However, the range of scale scores and the discrepancies in amount of change observed reveal that there is value in the consideration of results on the individual level as well as on the group level.

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